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CANTUS FIRMUS PROCEDURES IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

BY CATHERINE HOCKING

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to provide a detailed examination of the Cantus Firmus procedures in the Eton Choirbook. The study is based on a detailed examination of the manuscript and on a comparison of the procedures with those found in other sources.

CANTUS FIRMUS PROCEDURES IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

CATHERINE HOCKING

A Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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CANTUS FIRMUS PROCEDURES IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

CATHERINE HOCKING

ABSTRACT

The music in the Eton Choirbook presents a wealth of information regarding late fifteenth-century English compositional practice which until now has received little close attention. This study explores aspects of compositional practice through analysis of cantus firmus procedures within the Choirbook. The use of a cantus firmus in the Eton Choirbook is investigated in the works of the most prolific (and perhaps creative) composer, John Browne, in the *Salve regina* settings and in the *Magnificat* settings.

The study has been enriched by the discovery of the identity of four cantus firmi in compositions by Banester, Davy, Wylkynson and Browne. In addition, a new source for counterpoints to the *Magnificat* tones has been documented.

John Browne incorporates a *cantus firmus* into each of his compositions. His selection and treatment of *cantus firmi* demonstrate that he was a composer of considerable versatility, who experimented with a variety of ways of including a cantus firmus. The skill with which he integrates a cantus firmus, matching similar ideas in set text and unheard cantus firmus text suggests an additional personal dimension to the choice and treatment of the cantus firmus. The links between cantus firmus and set text are considered further in a discursus on Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth*.

The employment of a *cantus firmus* as a means of defining the structure as well as clarifying the sense of a text is investigated further in the Eton *Salve regina* settings. The identification of the cantus firmus in Wylkynson's setting of *O virgo prudentissima* is considered in the light of the choice and treatment of cantus firmus in both this piece and his nine-voice *Salve regina* and suggests that Wylkynson's personal religious consciousness involved a devotion to angels.

The inclusion of a pre-existent melody is explored further in the Eton *Magnificat* settings. Most of the *Magnificat* settings incorporate a pre-existent counterpoint to one of the *Magnificat* tones as a type of *cantus firmus*. An examination of three sources for such *Magnificat* counterpoints includes discussion of one source that has been discovered only recently.

Critical analyses of compositions in the Choirbook reveal that the presence of a cantus firmus seems to be used to articulate the sense of and reinforce the impact of ideas in the set text in a number of the Eton compositions. This offers a new theoretical perspective to the understanding of the manner in which a cantus firmus may be incorporated in late fifteenth-century English music.

The Appendices include editions of ten unpublished fragmentary compositions in the Eton Choirbook and transcriptions of the three principal sources for the mensural counterpoints to the *Magnificat* tones.

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work undertaken in collaboration.

To my parents

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LIST OF JOURNAL AND YEARBOOK ABBREVIATIONS

AcM	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
AIM	American Institute of Musicology
AMw	<i>Archiv für Musikwissenschaft</i>
AnnM	<i>Annales Musicologiques</i>
CM	<i>Current Musicology</i>
CMM	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
EMH	<i>Early Music History</i>
IMS	International Musicological Society
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
JM	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
JRMA	<i>Journal of the Royal Musical Association</i>
JMT	<i>Journal of Music Theory</i>
MD	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
ML	<i>Music and Letters</i>
MQ	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
MR	<i>Music Review</i>
MS	Musicological Studies
MSD	Musicological Studies and Documents
NGD	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980)
PMM	<i>Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society</i>
PRMA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association</i>
RBM	<i>Revue Belge de Musicologie</i>
RMARC	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
TVNM	<i>Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i> , ed. C. Blume, G. M. Dreves and H. Bannister, 55 vols (Leipzig: Reisland, 1886-1922).
AM	<i>Antiphonale Monasticum</i> (Paris: Desclée et Socii, 1934).
AS	<i>Antiphonale Sarisburiense</i> , ed. W. H. Frere, The Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 6 vols (London: 1901-24, repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966).
'Background'	HARRISON, F. L., 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Background and Contents (Eton College Library MS 178)', <i>AnnM</i> , 1 (1953), 151-75.
Brev	<i>Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum</i> , ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, Almae Matris Academiae, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879-86).
BRUO	EMDEN, A. B., <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A. D. 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; repr. 1989).
'Caput'	BUKOFZER, M. F., 'Caput Redivivum: A New Source for Dufay's <i>Missa Caput</i> ', <i>JAMS</i> , 4 (1951), 97-110.
CC	<i>Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music, 1400-1550</i> , ed. Illinois University Archives for Renaissance Manuscripts Studies, Renaissance Manuscript Studies, 1, 5 vols (Stuttgart: AIM, 1979-88).
CFMM	SPARKS, E. H., <i>Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420-1520</i> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).
CMM 17	FAYRFAX, Robert, <i>Collected Works</i> , ed. E. B. Warren, CMM, 17, 3 vols (Rome: AIM, 1959-66).
CMM 27	LUDFORD, Nicholas, <i>Collected Works</i> , ed. J. D. Bergsagel, CMM, 27, 2 vols, (Rome: AIM, 1963-77).
CMM 40	<i>The Music of the Pepys MS 1236</i> , ed. S. R. Charles, CMM, 40 (Rome: AIM, 1967).
CMM 46	<i>The Old Hall Manuscript</i> , ed. A. Hughes and M. Bent, CMM, 46, 4 vols (Rome: AIM, 1969-73).
CMM 50	POWER, Leonel, <i>Complete Works</i> , ed. C. Hamm, CMM, 50, I: <i>Motets</i> (Rome: AIM, 1969).
CMMS	<i>Cambridge Music Manuscripts 900-1700</i> , ed. I. Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 63 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1885-1900; index and supplementary vols, 1912).
DTÖ	<i>Sechs Trienter Codices: Geistliche und weltliche Kompositionen des XV. Jahrhunderts</i> , Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, ed. G. Adler et al.,

- Jahrgang VII/I - vols 14-15; XIX/I = vol. 38; XXVII/I = vol. 53; XXXI = vol. 61 (Vienna, 1900-24).
- EECM 4 *Early Tudor Magnificats I*, ed. P. Doe, Early English Church Music, 4 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1962).
- EECM 8 *Fifteenth-Century Liturgical Music: I. Antiphons and Music for Holy Week and Easter*, ed. A. Hughes, Early English Church Music, 8 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1968).
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- 'Egerton 3307' *The British Museum Manuscript Egerton 3307*, ed. G. S. McPeck (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- 'Fountains' *The Fountains Fragments: Late-Fourteenth-Century Polyphony for the Mass from a Fountains Abbey Memorial Book*, ed. E. Kershaw, Medieval Church Music, 2 (Newton Abbot: Antico, 1989).
- GS *Graduale Sarisburiense*, ed. W. H. Frere, Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society (London: Quaritch, 1894; repr. Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1966).
- GT *Graduale Triplex* (Solesmes, 1979).
- Latin Church Music* BENHAM, H., *Latin Church Music in England c. 1460-1575* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1977; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1980).
- MB 8 DUNSTABLE, John, *Complete Works*, ed. M. F. Bukofzer, MB, 8 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1953), 2nd edn. I. Bent, M. Bent and B. Trowell (1970).
- MB 10-12 *The Eton Choirbook*, ed. F. L. Harrison, Musica Britannica, 10-12 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1956-61; rev. 1967-73).
- MB 36 *Early Tudor Songs and Carols*, ed. J. Stevens, Musica Britannica, 36 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1975).
- MMMA 1 *Hymnen I. Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abenlandes*, ed. B. Stüblein, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi I (1956).
- MMB HARRISON, F. L., *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958; 2nd edn. 1963).
- PalMus 1 *Antiphonale Officii Monastici écrit par le B. Hartker: MSS 390-391 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall*, Paléographie Musicale, Second Series, 1 (Solesmes, 1900).
- PalMus 12 *Antiphonaire Monastique XIII^e Siècle: Codex F 160 de la Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale de Worcester*, Paléographie Musicale, I/12 (Tournai: Desclée, 1922-5; repr. Berne: Lang, 1971).
- RH Chevalier, U., *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols (Louvain, 1882-1921).

Abbreviations

- RISM BIV/2 *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music c.1320-1400*, ed. G. Reaney, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales BIV, 2 (Munich: Henle, 1969).
- Studies* BUKOFZER, M. F., *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950).
- Use of Sarum* *The Use of Sarum: II. The Ordinal and Tonal*, ed. W. H. Frere (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).

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 _____, Barlow 22 (Peterborough Psalter) GB-Ob Barlow 22
 _____, Bodl. 637 GB-Ob Bodl. 637
 _____, Bodl. 764 GB-Ob Bodl. 764
 _____, Bodl. 850 GB-Ob Bodl. 850
 _____, Bodl. 948 GB-Ob Bodl. 948
 _____, Digby 167 GB-Ob Digby 167
 _____, E. Musaeo 2 GB-Ob E. Mus. 2
 _____, Gough liturg. 3 GB-Ob Gough lit. 3
 _____, Gough liturg. 9 GB-Ob Gough lit. 9
 _____, Lat. liturg. a. 6 GB-Ob Lat. lit. a. 6
 _____, Lat. liturg. a. 9 GB-Ob Lat. lit. a. 9
 _____, Lat. liturg. b. 5 GB-Ob Lat. lit. b. 5
 _____, Lat. liturg. f. 2 GB-Ob Lat. lit. f. 2
 _____, Lat. Th. e. 29 GB-Ob Lat. Th. e. 29
 _____, Lat. Th. e. 30 GB-Ob Lat. Th. e. 30
 _____, Laud. lat. 95 GB-Ob Laud. lat. 95
 _____, Laud. Misc. 299 GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299
 _____, Misc. liturg. 6 GB-Ob Misc. lit. 6
 _____, Misc. liturg. 104 GB-Ob Misc. lit. 104
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 _____, Rawl. liturg. C. 781 GB-Ob Rawl. lit. C. 781
 _____, Rawl. liturg. d. 4 GB-Ob Rawl. lit. d. 4
 _____, Rawl. liturg. e. 1 GB-Ob Rawl. lit. e. 1
 _____, Rawl. liturg. e. 45 GB-Ob Rawl. lit. e. 45
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 _____, Tenbury 354-8 GB-Ob Tenbury 354-8
 _____, Tenbury 807-11 GB-Ob Tenbury 807-11
 _____, University College 8 GB-Ob University College 8
 Oxford, Christ Church 979-83 GB-Och 979-83

List of Sources

Oxford, Corpus Christi 44	
———, New College 7	<i>GB-Onc</i> 7
———, St John's College 177	
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1107	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 1107
———, lat. 12293	<i>F-Pn</i> lat. 12293
Prague, Památník Národního Pisemnictví, Strahovská Knihovna, D. G. IV. 47 (Strahov Manuscript)	<i>CS-Ppp</i> D. G. IV. 47
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1695 (<i>olim</i> C. V. 2)	
Salisbury Cathedral, 175	
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 390-391 (Hartker Antiphoner)	<i>CH-SGs</i> 390-391
———, 463-464	<i>CH-SGs</i> 463-464
Shrewsbury School, MS VI (<i>olim</i> III. 42)	<i>GB-SHB</i> VI
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, 222. C. 22	<i>F-Sm</i> 222
Taunton, Somerset Public Record Office, DD/WHb 3182	<i>GB-TAr</i> DD/WHb 3182
———, DD/L P29/29	<i>GB-TAr</i> DD/L P29/29
Trent, Castello del Buon Consiglio, 87 (Tr87)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 87
———, 88 (Tr88)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 88
———, 89 (Tr89)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 89
———, 90 (Tr90)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 90
———, 92 (Tr92)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 92
———, Museo Diocesano, B. L. 93 (Tr93)	<i>I-TRmn</i> 93
Worcester, Cathedral Chapter Library, F. 160 (Worcester Antiphonal)	<i>GB-Wo</i> F. 160
York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Mus.1 (York Masses)	<i>GB-Yi</i> Mus 1
———, <i>Nesciens mater</i> fragment	<i>GB-Yi Nesciens mater</i>
Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, VII. 8	

NOTES ON MUSICAL REFERENCES

PITCH IDENTIFICATION

The Helmholtz system of pitch identification is employed throughout:



CLEFS AND PITCH REFERENCES

Clefs are referred to according to their position on lines counting from the lowest line of a staff upwards. In references to specific pitches, names of notes are italicized; however, references to notes are capitalized and written in plain type.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

In the *Musica Britannica* edition of the Eton Choirbook, Harrison reduced the value of the breve by a quarter, making it equivalent to a minim in modern notation. There is growing opinion that for English music c.1475-1600 reduction of the breve's value by one half is appropriate. This procedure has been adopted for the editions at the end of this dissertation. However, the numerous musical examples included in the text of the dissertation have been copied from the *Musica Britannica* edition. On the few occasions when it has proved necessary to include a musical example from one of the fragmentary compositions not published in the edition, these have been transcribed in quartered values in order to maintain consistency between all musical examples.

FOLIATION REFERENCES

The Choirbook has three foliation numbering systems. A system in the index contemporary to the Choirbook's compilation refers to each of the eight folios that make up a gathering by a combination of letters and numbers, running sequentially: a1-a8, b1-b8, c1-c8 ... aa1-aa8, bb1-bb8 ... ee9 (final leaf). Two modern numerical foliations also exist. The first of these appears on the upper right-hand corner of every recto folio and includes numbers for the now missing folios in a sequence from 1 to 145. A second modern foliation is found on the lower right-hand corner of every recto folio which disregards the missing leaves and numbers the present ones from 1 to 126. Harrison referred to compositions in the Choirbook using the original alphabetical and numerical system. However, in order to distinguish between the two pages that form each folio, he referred to

the left- and right-hand sides of each double-page opening. For example, Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* opens on fols a2L-a2R. The original alphabetical and numerical system that is used consistently throughout the Choirbook is also retained in this dissertation in order to preserve historical accuracy. However, the system used here differs from Harrison's, by distinguishing the recto from the verso of every folio rather than by left- or right-hand sides of an opening. Therefore, the opening pages of Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* appear on fols a1^v-a2^r. The four reference systems for all compositions listed in the index on fol. a1^r, together with Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina* and setting of the Apostles' Creed which do not appear in this index, are included in Appendix I.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

The Eton Choirbook is one of Britain's finest musical treasures, the music contained within its leaves being testimony to the accomplishments of English composers in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The manuscript Windsor, Eton College Library 178 (hereafter referred to as *E*) is a collection of music compiled c.1502 to 1505 for Eton College, which was founded by Henry VI, with extant statutes dating from 1453. *E* occupies a unique position as the sole remaining English choirbook comprising music written primarily in the late fifteenth century. A large collection of music in honour of the Virgin Mary, it originally contained ninety-three compositions, of which sixty-five survive in complete or fragmentary form. The Choirbook was first described by James in 1895;¹ however, it received virtually no close attention from music scholars until Harrison's work in the early 1950s. This culminated in three volumes published by Musica Britannica containing an edition of the pieces that existed in entirety and those for which an editorial completion was feasible.² Physical descriptions of the manuscript appeared in Harrison's study, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Background and Contents' (1953) and more recently in Ker's catalogue of medieval manuscripts in British libraries (1977).³ A detailed codicological and palaeographical account of the Choirbook has yet to be undertaken and is not the objective of this thesis. This study is concerned primarily with an examination of musical procedures in the Choirbook, focusing particularly upon those compositions that are written upon a *cantus firmus*.

The majority of the music in *E* is devotional in character, with fifteen settings of the votive antiphon *Salve regina* and numerous settings of devotional texts in rhymed form including *Gaude flore virginali* and *Stabat mater dolorosa*. Originally, there were also twenty-four settings of the *Magnificat*, comprising the largest collection of English polyphonic *Magnificat* settings from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Davy's fragmentary Passion according to St Matthew is one of the few polyphonic settings of a Passion by an English composer from the fifteenth century and there is also a curious thirteen-part round by Wylkynson set to the text of the Apostles' Creed.⁴

¹James, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts*, 108-12.

²MB 10-12 (1956-61, rev. 1967-73).

³Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 773-4.

⁴Single mensural parts for polyphonic settings of the Passion according to St Matthew and St John survive in the early fifteenth-century manuscript, Shrewsbury School MS VI, fols 8^v-11^r and 11^v-14^r respectively; Rankin, 'Shrewsbury School, Manuscript VI', 133-4 and 143. Polyphonic settings of the Passion according to St Matthew (incomplete) and St Luke exist in the Egerton manuscript, *GB-Lbl* Egerton 3307 (Eg), fols 15^r-16^v (Egerton 3307, 48-50) and fols 20^r-24^v (Egerton 3307, 54-61) respectively.

One of the unusual aspects of E is the inclusion of two indices, both of which are contemporaneous with the Choirbook's compilation. The interim index is found on the final leaf of the manuscript (fol. ee9^v) beneath Wylkynson's setting of the Apostles' Creed. The later index appears on fol. a1^r, immediately before the first composition, Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater*. Given the omission from this index of only two compositions from the completed manuscript - Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* and thirteen-part Apostles' Creed - it can be established that there were probably originally ninety-three compositions in E. Evidently, the two compositions by Wylkynson were added to E following its original completion; in these, the musical notation and text hand differ not only between the two settings, but also from the single scribal hand that may be discerned in the rest of E. An unusual, but readily explicable, feature of the later index is that the number of voices and the overall compass of each of the compositions is written beside the incipit, composer's name and contemporary foliation reference.

Despite the complete loss of some twenty-nine compositions, there is an enormous wealth of musical material within the surviving works and only a part of the total can be examined in this study. Apart from brief analytical surveys by Harrison, Benham and Wulstan, E has received little detailed attention. In the recently published study, *The Rise of European Music*, Strohm states that 'a detailed investigation of the styles [in E] cannot be attempted here'.⁵ The absence of recent scholarship on the Eton music is confirmation that a thorough analysis of the music is long overdue. An in-depth, critical evaluation is now required not only of the music itself, but also of the Choirbook's contribution within the wider context of European music at the end of the fifteenth century.

CANTUS FIRMUS COMPOSITIONS IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

The employment of pre-existent material in the form of a cantus firmus was a recurrent feature of English sacred polyphonic compositions throughout the fifteenth century. Manuscripts of insular and continental provenance that include compositions on a cantus firmus by English composers are listed along with their possible dates of compilation in Table 1.1.

⁵Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 400, n. 91.

Introduction

TABLE 1.1 Sources compiled c.1400-1520 preserving compositions on a cantus firmus by English composers, with possible dates of compilation and edition referred to in this study

Source	Date of compilation	Dated by:	Edition referred to in this study and number
	1450s-60s	Curtis, <i>EECM</i> 34, ix	EECM 34
<i>B-Br</i> 5557 (Br)	c.1468	Wegman, 'New Data', 10	
<i>GB-CA</i> Add. 128/3	c.1430-40	Sandon, 'Fragments', 42	
<i>GB-CA</i> Add. 128/7	c.1490-1500	Sandon, 'Fragments', 53	
<i>GB-Cec</i> 300	before 1453	Andrew Hughes, <i>CC</i> 1, 126	MB 8: 69, 70, 71
<i>GB-Cmc</i> Pepys 1236 (P)	c.1460	Harrison, <i>MMB</i> , 278	CMM 40
	c.1465-75	Bowers, <i>CMMS</i> , 114	
	c.1459/60-65	Charles, 'The Provenance', 70	
<i>GB-Cpe</i> 314	c.1440	Bowers, <i>CMMS</i> , 103	
	c.1420-30	<i>CC</i> 1, 136	
<i>GB-Cu</i> Gonville and Caius 667 (Calus)	c.1520	Chew, 'Provenance', 117	<i>Magnificat</i> settings in <i>EECM</i> 4: 4-7
<i>GB-Cu</i> Nn. vi. 46	c.1500	<i>CC</i> 1, 135	Collins, <i>Missa 'O quam suavis'</i>
Coventry, Coventry Corporation, A3	c.1460-70	Bukofzer, 'Caput', 97	
<i>GB-Llp</i> 1 (Lam)	c.1520	Chew, 'Provenance', 117	<i>Magnificat</i> settings in <i>EECM</i> 4: 1-3
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 5665 (R)	Five layers: c.1460-1510	Miller, 'A Fifteenth Century Record'.	
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 40011B (LoF)	c.1405-7	Bowers, 'Fixed Points', 320	'Fountains'
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Add. 54324	c.1475	M. and I. Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer', 394	
	c.1410-15	Hughes and Bent, <i>CMM</i> 46, I, ix	CMM 46
	c.1415-20	Bent, <i>Dunstable</i> , 5 Bowers, <i>CMMS</i> , 104	
<i>G-Lbl</i> Add. 57950 (OH)			
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Egerton 3307 (Eg)	c.1430-44	McPeck, 'Egerton 3307', 16	'Egerton 3307'
	c.1450	Bukofzer, <i>Studies</i> , 114	

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Source	Date of compilation	Dated by:	Edition referred to in this study and number
GB-Ob Add. C. 87*	c.1450	Andrew Hughes, 'English Sacred Music', I, 75	Benet's <i>Gaude pia Magdalena</i> , EECM 8: 18
	c.1460	Anselm Hughes, <i>Medieval Polyphony</i> , 5	
GB-Ob Lat. lit. b. 5	s.xv	Harrison, <i>MMB</i> , 394, n. 1	
GB-Ob Laud. Lat. 95	c.1400	Harrison, <i>MMB</i> , 151, n. 1	<i>MMB</i> , 151-2
GB-Ob Selden B. 26	c.1425-40	Anselm Hughes, <i>Medieval Polyphony</i> , 48	EECM 8: 2, 3, 14 33
	mid s.xv	Harrison, <i>MMB</i> , 298	
GB-TA* DD/L P29/29	c.1440-50, addffs 1490-1510	Bowers, 'New Sources of English 14th- and 15th-Century Polyphony', 156	
GB-WRec 178 (E)	c.1502	Benham, 'Prince Arthur', 465	MB 10-12
GB-Yi Mus. 1	c.1515	Baillie and Oboussier, 'York Masses', 25	
GB-Yi Nesciens mater	c.1400	RISM BIV/2, 279	EECM 8: 42, 43; CMM 46: 50
I-AO (Ao)	c.1434-42	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 254	
	c.1440-50	Trowell, 'Music under the Later Plantagenets', I, 17	
I-MOe a. X. 1. 11 (ModB)	1440s	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 259	
I-TRmn 87 (Tr87)	c.1440	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 507	
I-TRmn 88 (Tr88)	c.1460	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 240	
I-TRmn 89 (Tr89)	c.1462-6	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 406	
I-TRmn 90 (Tr90)	c.1454-8	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 406	
I-TRmn 92 (Tr92)	c.1435-7	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 253	
I-TRmn 93 (Tr93)	c.1452-3	Strohm, <i>European Music</i> , 240	

In E, the incorporation of a cantus firmus was evidently a most important compositional procedure, with a considerable proportion of the compositions integrating one (Table 1.2).⁶ The cantus firmus in these settings is usually laid out in long notes, and is normally allocated to the part identified as the tenor. Sparks described this type of cantus firmus presentation in his seminal survey, *Cantus Firmus in Mass and Motet 1420-1520*, as a 'structural cantus firmus'.⁷ He also referred to the 'elaborated cantus firmus', in which the cantus firmus undergoes a degree of melodic and usually also rhythmic embellishment. This terminology has been adopted in this study as a convenient and appropriate way of describing the types of cantus firmi employed in compositions in E.

The predilection for five-part scoring in E - comprising triplex, medius, contratenor, tenor and bassus parts normally covering a twenty-one or twenty-two-note ambitus - results in the structural cantus firmus lying in the middle of such a complex. The structural cantus firmus is treated in a variety of ways in E. These include its appearance in points of imitation, the simultaneous statement of one or more cantus firmi, the migration of a cantus firmus from the tenor to a new voice and, very occasionally, the presentation of short passages from the cantus firmus in retrograde motion. A most important feature of the compositions on a cantus firmus in E is that, with only few exceptions, the cantus firmus is associated with a text different from that set polyphonically by the composer.

Such possibilities for the manipulation of a cantus firmus in these manners are radically different from approaches taken to integrating a cantus firmus in earlier English compositions of similar genres, namely ones in which the set text is derived from the Mass Proper, the Offices or is a 'non-liturgical Latin' text. In the principal sources surviving from the 1430s through to the last quarter of the fifteenth century - the Selden, Egerton and Pepys manuscripts (and parts of the Ritson manuscript) - the plainsong associated with the text set polyphonically is usually chosen as the cantus firmus. The very few exceptions to this, in which a cantus firmus is derived from a source with a text different from that set polyphonically, are shown in Table 1.3. In the Selden, Egerton and Pepys manuscripts, a cantus firmus is normally transposed up an octave from its notated pitch as chant and presented in the highest voice in a paraphrased form. In addition, migrant cantus firmi are sometimes encountered, with the cantus firmus moving usually between the highest and

⁶In this Table, both RH and AH numbers are included as references to the set text. Several texts for which E is the only known source are catalogued in RH; however, relatively few of these are included in the more recent AH. Consequently, references to published sources for texts from E will primarily appear with RH numbers. Where an edition in AH exists, these will also be noted. No distinction is made between antiphons that may be considered in some liturgical contexts to be Marian antiphons in addition to functioning as Office antiphons. In the *Musica Britannica* edition, sources for the cantus firmi were supplied primarily from AS. This study has turned to fifteenth-century sources for the cantus firmi wherever possible and these are indicated in Table 1.2. The source for the liturgical use of the cantus firmus in the final column is derived from Frere's introduction to AS.

⁷Sparks, *CFMM*, 42.

TABLE 1.2 Compositions on a cantus firmus in the Eton Choirbook

Order in E	No. in edition	Foliation	Attribution	Incipit	Type of text	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Source	Type of text	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
1	1	a1 ^v -a4 ^r	Browne	<i>O Maria salvatrix mater</i>	devotional poem	RH 30658	<i>Veni dilectus meus</i> *	Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxv ^r	antiphon	Assumption BVM
3	3	b1 ^v -b5 ^r	Lambe	<i>O Maria gratia plena</i>	prose text		<i>O sacrum convivium</i>	GB-Ob Rowl. liturg. e. 47, fol. 46 ^r	Magnificat antiphon	Corpus Christi
4	51	bd ^v -bd ^r	Davy	<i>Gaude flore virginis</i>	devotional poem	RH 4809 AH 31, 198	<i>Virgo flagellatur</i>	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 462 ^v	responsory	St Katherine
5	4	bd ^v -c3 ^r	Browne	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	rhymed sequence	RH 19416 AH 54, 312	<i>Alas it is I (Tutges)</i>	MB 36: no. 34	carol	
6	56	c5 ^v -c5 ^r	Lambe	<i>O regina caelestis glorie</i>	prose text	RH 30960	<i>Hodie in iordanis</i>	AS 87	responsory	Epiphany
							<i>Magi videntes stellam</i>	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 53 ^r	antiphon	Epiphany
7	5	c5 ^v -c8 ^r	Browne	<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	devotional poem	RH 33675	<i>Enslut vir optimus</i>	GB-Ob E. Mus. 2, p. 175	antiphon	St Thomas Cant.
							<i>V. Cuncti cunctos (Iacet granum)</i>	GB-Ob Rowl. liturg. e. 45, fols 12 ^v -13 ^r	responsory	St Thomas Cant.
8	6	c8 ^v -d2 ^r	Browne	<i>Stabat iuxta Christi crucem</i>	rhymed sequence	RH 19412 AH 8, 56	<i>From stormy windes (Tutges)</i>	MB 36: no. 64	carol	
9	7	d2 ^v -d5 ^r	Browne	<i>O regina mundi clara</i>	devotional poem	RH 30962	<i>Pange lingua</i>	GB-Ob Bodl. 948, fol. 93 ^r		Lent, Corpus Christi
10	8	d5 ^v -d8 ^r	Sturton	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	devotional poem	RH 7017 AH 15, 96	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	GB-Ob Rowl. liturg. e. 45, fols 47 ^v -48 ^r	antiphon	Assumption BVM
11	57	d8 ^v -e3 ^r	Wylkynson	<i>O virgo prudentissima</i>	devotional poem	Poliziano, <i>Oyena Omnia</i> RH 13910	<i>Angelus autem Domini</i> *	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fols 138 ^v -139 ^r	antiphon	Easter
15	9	f3 ^v -f6 ^r	Wylkynson	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (trope)	<i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 392 ^r	antiphon	Assumption BVM
16	59	f6 ^v -g1 ^r	Brygman	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (trope)	<i>Omnes electi</i>	Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxxiii ^r	antiphon	All Saints
17	10	g1 ^v -g3 ^r	Horwood	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (trope)	(Quoted from <i>Salve regina</i>)	GB-Ob Misc. bk. 6, fols 100 ^r -102 ^v	antiphon	Post-Compline, Lent (Eton College)

* Identified in the present study.

Order in E	No. in ed.	Foliation	Attribution	Incipit	Type of text	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Source	Type of text	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
18	11	g ^{3v} -a ^{5r}	Davy	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	Unidentified			
20	13	g ^{8r} -a ^{1r}	Brown	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Maria ergo ueni</i>	GB-Gb Misc. li. 6, fol. 55 ^r	antiphon	Maundy Thursday
21	14	h ^{1r} -a ^{3r}	Laube	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Salve regina</i>	GB-Gb Misc. li. 6, fol. 100 ^r -102 ^r	antiphon	Post-Compline, Lent (Eton College)
22	15	h ^{5r} -a ^{5r}	Sutton	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Libera nos, salua nos</i>	Sutton Antiphonal 1518-20, fol. 101 ^r	antiphon	Trinity
23	16	h ^{5r} -a ^{7r}	Haslemplayn	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	Unidentified			
24	17	h ^{7r} -a ^{1r}	Huchyn	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Ne inuener Maria</i>	GB-Gb Land. Misc. 299, fol. 6 ^r	antiphon	Advent
26	19	i ^{3r} -a ^{5r}	Pyper	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	(Quena from <i>Salve regina</i>)	GB-Gb Misc. li. 6, fol. 100 ^r -102 ^r	antiphon	Post-Compline, Lent (Eton College)
27	20	i ^{5r} -a ^{7r}	Hygon	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Cypus from Veni ad Petrus</i>	GB-Gb Rawl. li. 6, 46, fol. 50 ^r , 50 ^v	processional antiphon	Maundy Thursday
28	21	i ^{7r} -a ^{1r}	Brown	<i>Salve regina</i>	antiphon	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (toppe)	<i>Veni dilectus noster</i>	Sutton Antiphonal 1518-20, fol. 101 ^r	antiphon	Assumption BVM
30	23	k ^{3r} -a ^{5r}	Davy	<i>O Domine cudi terraque creator</i>	prone text	RH 30002	<i>Sponsus datus</i>	GB-Gb Land. Misc. 299, fol. 128 ^r	antiphon	Lent
33	26	k ^{8r} -a ^{7r}	Davy	<i>Virgo sanctissima Trinitas</i>	devotional poem	RH 21099	<i>O virgo sanctissima</i>	AS 393	antiphon	St. Martin
34	27	i ^{7r} -a ^{5r}	Davy	<i>In honore sanctae marie</i>	devotional poem	RH 26002	<i>In te perpetua vivit</i>	Sutton Antiphonal 1518-20, fol. 101 ^r	antiphon	St. Martin
35	28	m ^{5r} -a ^{5r}	Burmer	<i>O Maria et Elizabeth</i>	prone text	RH 30023	<i>Regina mundi</i>	xxxx ^v	antiphon	Common of Confessors
37	52	m ^{7r} -a ^{1r}	Horswood	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	devotional poem	RH 7017 AH 15, 96	Unidentified	GB-Gb Misc. 299, fol. 150 ^r	antiphon	Common of Virgins
40	31	q ^{3r} -a ^{5r}	Finkysze	<i>Gaude virgo subasta</i>	devotional poem	RH 26002 AH 15, 96	<i>Mariae abrahe sis</i>	GB-Gb Land. Misc. 299, fol. 43 ^r	processional antiphon	St. Martin

Order in E	No. in ed.	Foliation	Attribution	Incipit	Type of text	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Source	Type of text	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
50	32	45 ^r -48 ^r	Fawcett	<i>Gaude rosa alba spica</i>	devotional poem	RH 27118	Unidentified			
52	34	48 ^r -52 ^r	Larbe	<i>Nativus mater</i>	antiphon	RH 29457	<i>Nativus mater</i>	GB Ob Land. Misc. 299, fol. 34 ^v	antiphon	Nativ. BVM Occ.
55	35	48 ^r -51 ^r	Brown	<i>O mater venerabilis</i>	devotional poem	RH 30703	Unidentified			
57	53	48 ^r -48 ^r	Fayrfa	<i>Ave lumen gratiae</i>	devotional poem	RH 1846 AH 32, 27	Unidentified			
60	36	51 ^r -53 ^r	Brown	<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	devotional poem	RH 33075	<i>Regni ex progressa</i>	GB Ob Land. Misc. 299, fol. 408 ^v	antiphon	Occ. BVM
62	38	55 ^r -57 ^r	Larbe	<i>Ave lumen Christi</i>	processional antiphon	RH 21338 AH	<i>Ave lumen Christi</i>	GB Ob Land. Misc. 299, fol. 305 ^v	processional antiphon	Assumption BVM
63	39	57 ^r -51 ^r	Larbe	<i>Gaude flore virginale</i>	devotional poem	RH 4809 AH 31, 198	Unidentified			
66	42	58 ^r -58 ^r	Cureyph	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi, post te matrem venerabilis</i>	physical sequence					
70	43	57 ^r -51 ^r	Nobeli	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
71	44	51 ^r -53 ^r	Herwood	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
72	45	53 ^r -56 ^r	Kellyk	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
73	46	56 ^r -58 ^r	Larbe	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 1			
74	62	58 ^r -58 ^r	Brown	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
75	47	58 ^r -58 ^r	Fayrfa	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
79	63	58 ^r -58 ^r	Wyllyston	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Cyts to canticle vers 4 & 5			
82	64	58 ^r -58 ^r	Sygar	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Counterpoint to canticle vers 8			
80	65	58 ^r -58 ^r	Davy	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>		Unidentified			
91	48	58 ^r -58 ^r	Stanford	<i>Et radiosi</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i>					
93	50	58 ^r	Wyllyston	<i>Humus mater transiens</i>	<i>Mayoficant</i> antiphon		<i>Humus mater transiens</i>	GB Ob Land. Misc. 299, fol. 116 ^r	<i>Mayoficant</i> antiphon	Lent

TABLE 1.3 English settings c.1400-1520 of the Mass Proper, Offices and non-liturgical Latin texts on a cantus firmus derived from a different source from that of the polyphonic text (excluding those in the Eton Choirbook)

Source	Edition and no.	Incipit	Attribution	Text type	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Text type	Published ed./source	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
LoF, fol. 14 ^f	'Fountains': 17	<i>Humane lingue organici</i>	anon.	non-lit. Latin		<i>Deo gratias</i>	Vespers response	GS 19+	Daminal
		<i>Supplicum voces</i>		non-lit. Latin					
OH, fols 55 ^v -56 ^r ; ModB, fols 109 ^v -111 ^r ; Tr92, fols 182 ^v -184 ^r ; As, fols 274 ^v -275 ^r ; 276 ^v -277 ^r	CMM 46: 66	<i>Veni sancte spiritus</i>	Dunstaple	sequence	AH 54, 234	<i>Veni creator</i>	processional hymn	GT 848	Pentecost
		<i>Veni sancte spiritus (trope)</i>		sequence					
OH, fol. 57 ^v ; ModB, fols 98 ^v -99 ^r	CMM 46: 68	<i>Ascendit Christus</i>	Forrest	processional antiphon	RH 23138	<i>Alma redemptoria mater</i>	antiphon	AS 529	Nativity BVM
OH, fols 89 ^v -90 ^r	CMM 46: 111	<i>Saluatoris mater</i>	Demet	non-lit. Latin	AH 54, 424	<i>Benedictus Marie filius qui venit</i>	Sanctus trope	GS 17 +	
		<i>O Georgi</i>		non-lit. Latin					
OH, fols 90 ^v -91 ^r	CMM 46: 112	<i>Alma proles</i>	Cooke	non-lit. Latin		<i>Ab inimicis nostris</i>	Regation litany	SP 1519 (Bukofzer, Studies, 68)	
		<i>Christe miles</i>		non-lit. Latin					
OH, fols 91 ^v -92 ^r	CMM 46: 113	<i>Salve mater</i>	Sturgeon	non-lit. Latin		<i>(Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini)</i>	Sanctus trope	GS 17 +	
		<i>Salve templum</i>		non-lit. Latin					
OH, fols 110 ^v -111 ^r	CMM 46: 143	<i>Ex Katherine</i>	Byttering	non-lit. Latin		<i>V. Sponte amat spemam from Virgo flagellatur</i>	processional responsory	AS pl. X	St Katherine
		<i>Virginalis</i>		non-lit. Latin					
OH, fols 111 ^v -112 ^r	CMM 46: 146	<i>Ave post libamina</i>	Mayshuet	non-lit. Latin		Unidentified			
		<i>Nun surgunt</i>		non-lit. Latin					

Source	Edition and no.	Incipit	Attribution	Text type	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Text type	Published ed./source	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
OH fol. 112 ^r	CNM 46, 147	<i>Puer mirum saluata</i>	anon	neo-lit. Latin		Unidentified			
ModB, fol. 18 ^v -89 ^r	MB 8: 23	<i>Albane roris nullar</i>	Datable	neo-lit. Latin		Albane, fol. 100let from antiphon (All 11, 26)	antiphon		St. Alban
ModB, fol. 85 ^v -86 ^r	MB 8: 24	<i>Quisque ferenda</i>	Datable	neo-lit. Latin	AI 40, 98 (100%)	<i>Ave mundi spes Maria</i>	sequence	MB 8, 158	
ModB, fol. 95 ^v -96 ^r	MB 8: 25	<i>Christa sacrorum decus</i>	Datable	neo-lit. Latin	AI 2, 64	<i>Tibi Christa gloriolar Patria</i>	hymn	AM 1056	St. Michael
ModB, fol. 92 ^v -93 ^r	MB 8: 26	<i>Dea digna decorari</i>	Datable	neo-lit. Latin		<i>Ave confessor Domine</i>	hymn	MB 8, 159 AM 656, 669	Common of Confessors
ModB, fol. 129 ^v -131 ^r	MB 8: 27	<i>Gaude feli Anna</i>	Datable	neo-lit. Latin	RH 6773 RH 7204 AI 29, 95	<i>Marianum hoc matrona V. Anna parva</i>	responsory	MB 8, 159	St. Ann
ModB, fol. 113 ^v -114 ^r	MB 8: 28	<i>Gaude ergo saluta</i>	Datable	rhymed sequence	RH 54, 332	<i>Ave genitrix carit lacrimarum, Ave matris de Ave mundi spes Maria</i>	sequence	MB 8, 158	
ModB, fol. 127 ^v -129 ^r 114 ^v -116 ^r , GB-GA 128/3	MB 8: 29	<i>Prope prelatencia</i>	Datable	rhymed sequence	RH 31, 143	<i>Ave natus</i>	antiphon	AS 436	John Baptist All Saints
ModB, fol. 123 ^v -125 ^r	MB 8: 30	<i>Salve arma inextingua</i>	Datable	rhymed sequence		<i>Et d. impetulum de Virgo Inextingua</i>	processional responsory	AS pl. X	St. Katherine
ModB, fol. 137 ^v -138 ^r	MB 8: 31	<i>Specialis virgo</i>	Datable	antiphon		<i>Salve parva inclita, etc. Ave d. de Puer parum virgo Maria</i>	sequence	AS 404	Purification

Source	Edition and no.	Incipit	Attribution	Text type	Text reference	Cantus firmus	Text type	Published ed./source	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
Q15, fols 269 ^v -270 ^r	CMO 50, B.10	<i>Sola regina</i>	Leonid Power	antiphon	RH 1314 AH 50, 218 23, 27 (types)	<i>Alma redemptoris mater</i>	antiphon	AS 529	Assumption
MedB, fol 192 ^v -130 ^r	Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, vol. 3, 27-30	<i>Gaude mater</i>	Forst	non-lit. Latin			antiphon	PubMus 12, 213	St Oswald
MedB, fol 125 ^v -126 ^r	Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, vol. 3, 16-20	<i>Celandrea</i>	Brent	non-lit. Latin			antiphon		
MedB, fol 125 ^v -126 ^r	Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, vol. 3, 16-20	<i>Tellur perperitum</i>	Brent	non-lit. Latin			antiphon		
MedB, fol 125 ^v -130 ^r	Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, vol. 3, 21-6	<i>Sperandida flumifero</i>	Brent	non-lit. Latin	AH 52, 60		antiphon		
MedB, fol 125 ^v -130 ^r	Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, vol. 3, 21-6	<i>Lex fulget et Arctia</i>	Brent	non-lit. Latin			antiphon		St Thomas of Hereford
Tr88, fol 70 ^v -71 ^r	EECM 34: 6	<i>O mater pietatis</i>	Frye	non-lit. Latin	AH 13, 248	<i>Sola Thoma</i>	antiphon	AS 292	All Saints
Eg, fol 75 ^v -77 ^r	Tegerton 3307: 51	<i>Sola virgo mater</i>	Frye	non-lit. Latin		<i>Sumer Trecluri</i>	antiphon	AS 641	Relics, Marys
GB.9p Add. 2225-2234	EECM 8: 18	<i>Cantemus Domine sociis</i>	anon.	elegy by Sedulius		<i>Gaudet in carole</i>	antiphon	AS 460	Mary Magdalene
GB.LN Add. 1016, fol 3 ^v -4 ^r		<i>Gaude pia Magdalena</i>	Brent	rhymed sequence		<i>O certe precipua</i>	antiphon	AS 523	Nativity BVM
		<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	anon.	rhymed sequence	31, 198	<i>Ad natum Dnm</i>	antiphon		

middle voices. When stated in the latter, the cantus firmus may either retain the original notated pitch of the chant, or it may be transposed by a fifth or fourth.

The presentation of a cantus firmus differs in mid-fifteenth-century English settings of the Mass Ordinary. In these, the cantus firmus is usually stated in a structural manner, that is, in considerably longer notes than the surrounding voices. It tends to be confined to the tenor, operating as the lowest, or second-to-lowest part, in a three- or four-voice complex. Cantus firmi are selected not from the Mass Ordinary, but rather from different plainsong sources, including antiphons, responsories, Introits and Graduals and, in one instance, a secular source (see Table 1.4).

It is apparent that the techniques of integrating a cantus firmus in E are more closely allied to those used in English settings of the Mass Ordinary than they are to the cantus firmus techniques used in genres similar to the devotional compositions in E.

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON ETON COMPOSITIONS AND CANTUS FIRMUS TREATMENT

Discussion of the layout and structural function of the cantus firmus in several compositions in E may be found in Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain*.⁸ The question of the manner in which the text associated with the cantus firmus in its plainsong form might have commended itself for selection because of the possibilities it offered for establishing parallels with the text set polyphonically was not considered in these commentaries. Benham's discovery of the identities of several cantus firmi - including two from secular sources - further extended knowledge of cantus firmus treatment in E.⁹ He recognized that a correlation existed between the choice of cantus firmus and the set text in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*; however, he was reluctant to discuss the potential significance of the selection of cantus firmi in Browne's music, let alone in music by other Eton composers. This aspect of text interrelationship has been briefly explored in comments recently made by Milsom.¹⁰

In the present study of cantus firmus treatment in E, the choice of cantus firmus will be brought into the foreground and acknowledged as an important compositional procedure in many of the settings. This approach provides a new emphasis in the investigation of compositional process within the Eton music, as well as in fifteenth-century English music altogether. The only other study of cantus firmus techniques that embraces English sacred music of this period is that by Sparks.¹¹ Even here, English compositions dating from the mid-fifteenth century onwards are largely excluded from the

⁸Harrison, *MMB*, 307-29.

⁹Benham, 'Prince Arthur'.

¹⁰Milsom, liner notes to 'The Rose and the Ostrich Feather. Music from the Eton Choirbook Volume I, The Sixteen, dir. H. Christophers (London: HarperCollins, CD 13142, 1991), 6.

¹¹Sparks, *CFMM*.

discussion, with the consequence that no clear picture of cantus firmus treatment in England throughout the fifteenth century is as yet available.

At least forty-six of the surviving sixty-five compositions from E include a cantus firmus, although sources have not been identified for all of these and the presence of a cantus firmus in some settings has yet to be confirmed. A discussion of cantus firmus techniques will help to develop a knowledge of the diverse musical styles represented within E.

The manner of disposing the cantus firmus differs considerably from that used in similar genres in English sources compiled prior to E. But whence did the Eton composers acquire the idea of laying out the cantus firmus in the structural fashion recurrently seen in E? It is probable that cantus firmus techniques in E simply represent an extension to the votive antiphon of the treatment accorded to the Mass Ordinary in England throughout the middle years of the fifteenth century. In such compositions, the cantus firmus serves primarily as a means of structural cohesion between three or four voices, in movements often conspicuous by their length, and by their need of a method of imposing form and structure. Despite knowledge of this technique throughout the century, settings of the Mass Proper, items from the Office and non-liturgical Latin texts continued to be composed without recourse to it, until the point at which the scope and length of such compositions began to expand to match the length of mid-century English Mass Ordinary settings. Thus it became necessary for such compositions to adhere to formal structures suitable for large-scale composition.¹² In E, there is an expansion to predominantly five-part composition, witnessed even among the settings by the earliest composers, Banester and Nesbett. Together with this increase in the number of parts an extension of the overall ambitus of voices to twenty-one or twenty-two notes may be seen. Bowers couples the extension of the range to three octaves with the employment for the first time of boys within choirs and the use of the bassus voice.¹³ The objective of the use of the structural cantus firmus in these large-scale five-voice settings in all probability was the establishment of a degree of cohesion between the diverse parts, providing a stable harmonic background around which more contrapuntal lines might be woven.

¹²Two exceptions are the anonymous setting of Sedulius' elegy, *Cantemus Domino socie* in Eg (fols 75^v-77^r, 'Egerton 3307', pp. 96-101) and Benet's *Gaude pia Magdalena* (GB-Ob Add. C. 87^r, fols 222^v-223^r, EECM 8, no. 18), both of which integrate an isorhythmic cantus firmus, thus following older styles of motet composition.

¹³See particularly Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', 6011-25.

TABLE 1.4 English settings c.1400-1520 of the Mass Ordinary on a cantus firmus derived from a source other than the Mass Ordinary

Sources	Edition and no.	Liturgical category	Attribution	Cantus firmus	Type of text	Published ed./source	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
LoF, fol. 9 ^r	'Fouraines': 1	Gloria	anon.	<i>Tibi laus, tibi gloria</i>	Antiphon	AS 293	Trinity
OH, fol. 19 ^v -20 ^r	CMM 46: 24	Gloria	anon.	<i>Ad Thomas memoriam</i>	Antiphon	GB-Ob E. Mus. 2, p. 180	St Thomas Cant.
OH, fol. 23 ^v -24 ^r	CMM 46: 28	Gloria spiritus et alme	Pycard	<i>Johannes Ihesu Christo</i>	Sequence	GB-LN Lantz. 462, fol. 6 ^v	St John Evangelist
OH, fol. 71 ^v -72 ^r	CMM 46: 84	Credo	Laurel Power	<i>Open nobis</i>	Antiphon	GB-Ob E. Mus. 2, p. 80	St Thomas Cant.
OH, fol. 74 ^v -75 ^r	CMM 46: 87	Credo	Typp	<i>Benedicam te Domine</i>	Antiphon	AS 107	Sundays
OH, fol. 76 ^v -77 ^r	CMM 46: 89	Credo	Pennard	<i>Te iure laudant</i>	Antiphon	AS 293	Commem. BVM
An, fol. 219 ^v -220 ^r ; Tr87, fol. 3 ^v -8 ^r ; Tr90, fol. 112 ^v -114 ^r ; Tr93, fol. 142 ^v -144 ^r	ad. Curia	Mass cycle	Laurel Power	<i>Alma redemptoria mater</i>	Antiphon	AS 529	Naivity BVM
GB-Lpro C115/K.2/6684, fol. 220 ^v		Gloria	anon.	<i>Iacet gramam</i>	Responsory	GB-Ob Rawl. B. e. 45, fol. 12 ^v -13 ^r	St Thomas Cant.
Tr92, fol. 159 ^v -165 ^r	MB 8: 15, 16	Mass cycle	Dunstable	<i>Ihesu Christe fili Dei</i>	Responsory	AS 270	Ascension
An, 220 ^v -220 ^r ; GB-Cec 300, fol. 2 ^r ; US-CA Incun 8948	MB 8: 69, 72, 17, 18	Mass cycle	Dunstable	<i>Da gaudiorum premia</i>	Responsory	AS 290	Trinity
Tr90, fol. 110 ^v -112 ^r , 274 ^v , 275 ^r ; Tr92, fol. 30 ^v -40 ^r , an ^v , 48 ^r , 94 ^v -95 ^r ; Tr93, fol. 140 ^v , 142 ^r , 347 ^v -348 ^r ; An, fol. 39 ^v , 40 ^r , 72 ^v -74 ^r ; Em, fol. 121 ^v -123 ^r ; GB-Cec, fol. 1 ^r	MB 8: 70, 19, 20, 21, 22	Mass cycle	Dunstable	<i>Rex saeculorum</i>	Antiphon	PalMus 12, 301	St Benedict
GB-Cpc 314, p. 1		Gloria	anon.	<i>Virgo flagellatur & V. Spoliatus amicus spoliatus</i>	Processional responsory	AS, pl. X	St Katherine
Tr88, fol. 35 ^v -38 ^r ; Tr90, fol. 103 ^v -105 ^r , 175 ^v -177 ^r , 239 ^v , 241 ^r ; Tr93, fol. 133 ^v -135 ^r , 243 ^v -245 ^r , 308 ^v -310 ^r	EECM 22: 1	Mass cycle	anon.	<i>Fuit homo missus</i>	Gradual	GS 188	Vigil of John Baptist

[illegible]

Sources	Edition and no.	Liturgical category	Attribution	Cantus firmus	Type of text	Published ed./source	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
GR-X, fol. 1 ^o		Kyrie	Harwood	<i>Re clama</i>	Kyrie trope	GS 6+	Sunday/Cnc. BVM
GR-X, fol. 7 ^o -11 ^o		Laudamus et Et in uisum Domini	anon.	<i>Cantodi. neu Danide</i>	Versicle	GR-X, fol. 8 ^o	Compline
GR-X, fol. 18 ^o -20 ^o		Benedicite/Agnus Dei	Cak	<i>Veni alleluia mea</i>	Antiphon	AS 495	Assumption BVM
Culus, pp. 174-49 GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-7 GR-Ca, Penthouse 470-4 Lam, fol. 16 ^o -24 ^o	CNM 17, l. 2	Mass cycle	Fayfax	<i>Absena</i>	Hymn	AS 495	St Alban
Culus, pp. 62-79 GR-Ca, Penthouse 470-4 GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-7 Lam, fol. 78 ^o -82 ^o	CNM 17, l. 4	Mass cycle	Fayfax	<i>Regali ex progenie</i>	Antiphon	AS 526	Cnc. BVM/Naive.
Culus, pp. 96-111 GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-7 Lam, fol. 8 ^o -16 ^o	CNM 17, l. 3	Mass cycle	Fayfax	<i>O quam gloriosa</i>	Hymn		Assumption BVM
Culus, pp. 142-57; GR-Ca Penthouse 471-7; GR-Ca, Penthouse 470-4; Cnc. S. 376-81; Lam, fol. 3 ^o , 4 ^o	CNM 17, l. 5	Mass cycle	Fayfax	<i>Teu principium</i>	Antiphon	AS 54	Vesper Christmas & Epiphany
GR-Ca, Tenbury 354-8	CNM 17, l. 6	Mass cycle	Fayfax	<i>Sponsa amal speculum</i>	V. from responsory <i>Verge flagellare</i>	AS, pl. X	St Katherine
GR-Ca, No. vi. 46	ad. Collas	Mass cycle	Lloyd	<i>O quam tuam</i>	<i>Megaficula antiphon</i>		Copus Chetani
Culus, pp. 80-1 Lam, fol. 47-48 ^o	CNM 27, ll. 1	Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Lapidiferum Stephanum</i>	Antiphon	AS 60	St Stephen
Culus, pp. 44-49 GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-7 Lam, fol. 25 ^o -26 ^o	CNM 27, ll. 4	Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Benedicta, V. from Beata ut virgo</i>	Responsory	AS 497	Assumption BVM
Culus, pp. 32-33	CNM 27, ll. 3	Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Videri miraculum</i>	Responsory	AS 395	Purification
Culus, pp. 18-19 GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-4 GR-Ca, Penthouse 470-4	CNM 27, ll. 2	Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Cheri virgo</i>	Responsory	AS 419	Annunciation
GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-4		Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Incite cor meum Domine</i>	Responsory	AS 108	Epiphany
GR-Ca, Penthouse 471-4		Mass cycle	Lufford	<i>Regem mundi</i>	Responsory	AS 666	Common of Virgin

The structural cantus firmus is not the only type employed by Eton composers, as elaborated statements are also common. Ornamentation of the cantus firmus is characteristic of settings from the Offices and Mass Proper in England throughout the fifteenth century and is particularly evident in *Eg* and *P*. The elaborated cantus firmus is rarely used in settings of the Mass Ordinary; therefore, the Mass from a mid-fifteenth century source, *Eg*, is unusual for its inclusion of a paraphrased cantus firmus that migrates between upper and middle voices.¹⁴ In this respect, Bedingham's Mass on Binchois's ballade *Deuil angoisseux* preserved in the *Tr88* and *Tr90* Codices is similarly exceptional, with the ballade's treatment in a parodistic manner possibly being the earliest occurrence of this technique. The integration of both structural and elaborated cantus firmi within the same composition is almost unheard of in English compositions, although the procedure is encountered in some continental compositions.¹⁵

In *E*, cantus firmi are usually derived from a source that has an underlying text different from that set polyphonically.¹⁶ Several suggestions may be advanced in answer to the question of why the Eton composers decided to turn to other sources for their cantus firmi. A large number of the settings in *E* are on texts for which the Choirbook is the only known source. The Eton composers may have been obliged to seek melodies associated with different texts as their cantus firmi because plainsong melodies for the texts to be set in polyphony probably never existed. This would then have introduced the possibility of conceiving a relationship between the polyphonic text and underlying (but unheard) cantus firmus text. Viewed in this context, the employment of a relatively unadorned structural cantus firmus suggests a respect for the integrity of both music and text associated with the pre-existent source that is then exploited through intentional links between set text and chosen cantus firmus. For such a relationship to exist, audible identification of the cantus firmus is not necessary; however, the cantus firmus is unquestionably heard in the nine-voice *Salve regina* by Wylkynson and that by Lambe where the cantus firmus is placed in the highest voice. Although the cantus firmi in *E* are almost never identified in the manuscript by text incipit,¹⁷ the long-note layout means that the melody of the cantus

¹⁴*Eg*, fols 17^r-19^r, 'Egerton 3307', pp. 50-4.

¹⁵There are a few compositions in *P* in which it could be considered that elements of both structural and elaborated cantus firmus statements are present; for example, Banester's *Vos saeculi iusti iudices* (CMM 40, no. 11, pp. 18-21), an anonymous setting of *Sospitati dedit egros* (CMM 40, no. 23, pp. 40-1), an anonymous *Benedicamus Domino* (CMM 40, no. 58, p. 78) and Nesbett's *Benedicamus Domino. Alleluia* (CMM 40, no. 119, pp. 160-1). It is noteworthy that compositions by Nesbett and Banester are also included in *E*. Simultaneous presentation of structural and elaborated cantus firmus statements in fifteenth-century continental compositions may be seen, for example, in Regis's motet, *O admirabile commercium: Opera Omnia*, II, 49-60, and a *Salve regina* setting by Obrecht: *Opera Omnia*, II, 1-16.

¹⁶Three compositions by Lambe employ the plainsong associated with the text set polyphonically: *Salve regina*, *Nesciens mater* and *Ascendit Christus*.

¹⁷The only exception is Lambe's fragmentary *O regina caelestis gloriae* in which the two cantus firmi, *Magi videntes stellam* and *Hodie in Iordane*, are identified by text incipit.

firmus may be identified and also potentially audible. The essential consideration here is whether by using a pre-existent, known melody, composers thereby consciously added a personal and extra depth to the meaning and conveyance of the heard text.

CURRENT PERCEPTIONS OF LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH SACRED MUSIC

Surveying English sacred music from the latter half of the fifteenth century, scholars have tended to reiterate that text and music were essentially independent of one another.¹⁸ This interpretation stems from a more general view of music from both the Continent and England. In seeking to differentiate between the musical procedures of the fifteenth century and those of the Renaissance, many scholars have regarded the issue of text in polyphonic music from earlier times in a negative light. Emphasis placed on limited structural coherence - defined by the absence of extensive employment of imitation and the preponderance of melismatic rather than syllabic writing - has been interpreted as a supposed disinterest in musical response to text.¹⁹ The tendency to distance the Renaissance from the Middle Ages in this manner has resulted in the effective discarding of questions relating to the interaction between text and music in the fifteenth century. In recent years, contemplating a relative scarcity of natural word depiction in English music, several eminent scholars have concluded that English composers were primarily unconcerned with the content of a set text. This conclusion, if not entirely dispelled, has undergone radical re-thinking in the context of fifteenth-century continental music, as is evident from the contributions to research made by scholars including Meier, Elders and Wegman.²⁰

Underlying these diverse views is a problem rarely addressed, namely, the question of what is meant by 'musical expression of text'. Quite clearly there was a change in the compositional response to text in the Renaissance, the initiation of the phenomenon normally being associated on the Continent from the 1470s onwards with the motets of Josquin des Prez. For scholars concerned with the compositions of this period, the only valid evidence of intellectual concern for text-expression tends to be either the syllabic treatment of text rendering the audibility of words unequivocal, or the specific musical depiction of individual words - usually termed 'word-painting'. Such assumptions preclude examination of many potential compositional responses to the structure of a text, most obviously whether the sense of a text is articulated by compositional means. Syllabic declamation, imitation and natural depiction of words should be regarded as standing on the

¹⁸Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 3-4; Stevens, *Music and Poetry*, 66-7.

¹⁹See for example Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 4-5.

²⁰See, for example, Meier, 'The Musica Reservata'; and 'Rhetorical Aspects of the Renaissance Modes'; Elders, 'Guillaume Dufay as Musical Orator' and Wegman, 'Another Imitation of Busnoys's *Missa L'Homme armé*'.

periphery of what constitutes basic compositional responses to text expression, wherein structural clarification of text is of primary interest.²¹

Harrison and Benham drew attention to certain passages in Eton compositions that mirror the text by musical means. Invariably their remarks were concerned only with specific word depiction:

Although the depiction of words by melody has no greater place in medieval polyphony than it had in plainsong, Fawkyner's little figure for the serpent in his *Gaude rosa sine spina* is a clear case of musical illustration... and makes one inclined to believe that the last syllable of the word *pereamus* in his *Gaude virgo salutata* was not dropped merely by chance.²²

Undoubtedly, there is very little natural depiction of words by musical means in E; however, this does not mean that the composers were insensitive to the structure and meaning of the texts that they were setting.²³ Rather, English music should be regarded as functioning according to different stylistic norms, wherein responses to individual words and ideas in a text are subsumed within the larger framework of structural text clarification. In defence of fifteenth-century music in general, Randel has argued that:

To insist exclusively on the kind of reading that leads to consistently syllabic declamation and frequent instances of word painting is to run the risk of overlooking still more important features even of the works that submit to such interpretations. And it is to assert [*sic*] that where these particular kinds of relationship between text and music do not prevail there is no relationship at all or only the adumbration of a relationship that is dimly perceived by the composer in question and that waits to be discovered fully by a later ('more modern', 'less medieval') age.²⁴

To search for syllabic text declamation in E as confirmation of interest in text is inappropriate, for although by no means absent, it is relatively scarce. However, this does not preclude the Eton composers from having been interested in the construction of a text and its meaning and their exploitation of it. Indeed, the relationship between music and text will be shown to be of great importance for the understanding of the compositional procedures within many settings in E.

One of the most important means by which composers could respond to the text in fifteenth-century polyphonic compositions is through the employment and manipulation of a pre-existent melody, that is, a *cantus firmus*. If the significance of the choice of a *cantus*

²¹These observations are consistent with those which Jonsson and Treitler claim to have discerned for a different repertory: plainsong in the Middle Ages, 'Medieval Music and Language', 23.

²²Harrison, *MMB*, 332. The reference to the same musical figure in Fawkyner's *Gaude rosa sine spina* is made by Benham in *Latin Church Music*, 61.

²³Although neither Harrison nor Benham considered the relationship between the text of the *cantus firmus* and the set text to any great extent, this is not to disregard their valuable statements on text within E.

²⁴Randel, 'Dufay the Reader', 41.

firmus is disregarded then there is a risk that the skill of the composers will not be appreciated fully. In addition, evaluation of potential layers of meaning intrinsic to such compositions may be missed when a cantus firmus is one that differs from the polyphonically set text. However, discussion of the possibility that there existed deliberate interrelationships between set text and the cantus firmus text has as yet received scant attention.

One of the central aims in any study on cantus firmus is to identify the source of the pre-existent melody used in the polyphonic context. Several cantus firmi exist in the music in *E* for which hitherto a source has not been identified. Indeed, a significant contribution of this study has been the discovery of sources for a number of cantus firmi, and these new identifications are discussed in chapters 2 and 3. This study of compositions on a cantus firmus in *E* will focus upon the composer's original selection and manipulation of a cantus firmus, in order to understand how these considerations may have involved intentional resonances with the text of the polyphonic setting.

CHAPTER 2
CANTUS FIRMUS TECHNIQUES IN THE COMPOSITIONS
OF JOHN BROWNE

INTRODUCTION

A study of cantus firmus techniques in E must inevitably begin with the compositions by John Browne, the composer who contributed the largest number of works to E and whose fertile imagination and compositional abilities are unsurpassed by any other composer represented in E. The identity of John Browne has not yet been established, although several suggestions have been advanced regarding figures who may be the composer John Browne. Among the possibilities discussed by Harrison is a John Browne who was an Eton College scholar from Coventry and was aged fourteen in December 1467, a theory supported by Benham and Strohm.¹ One of the clues to his identity must lie in the ascription, 'Johannes Browne Oxoniensis', that is appended to the single bassus part from his *Stabat mater dolorosa* on a single parchment leaf (almost certainly from a *rotulus*), a setting that survives complete in E.² Recently, Bowers has proposed that the composer may be identified with the John Browne who was chaplain in the chapel of the household of John de Vere, the thirteenth Earl of Oxford (1443-1513).³ References to St Frideswide in Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* in E seem to imply that he and/or his patron was in some way associated with Oxford where the Earl enjoyed a considerable landed estate. There is little doubt that he is the same Browne who composed three carols in the Fayrfax manuscript, two of which, *Jesu mercy how may this be* and *Woefully arrayed* are set to vernacular texts on the 'Stabat mater' theme.⁴

There remains in this solution to the question of Browne's identity an item of evidence that has not yet succumbed to interpretation. The coat of arms that appears in the cadel 'O' of Browne's *O mater venerabilis* in E (fol. r7^v) has eluded identification so far, although other coats of arms in E have provided associations between the composers and

¹MB 10, xvii; Benham, 'Prince Arthur', 465; Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 401. Other suggestions discussed by Harrison may be discounted entirely: two Brownes, one who was a lay clerk at St George's Chapel, Windsor (d. 6 July 1479), and another who was Rector of West Tilbury (1480-90) later to become canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster (d.1498), both died earlier than the Eton John Browne who was evidently still composing in 1502.

²GB-Cu Buxton 96 (unfoliated). Described by Bowers in *CMMS*, 114-17.

³Dr Bowers' findings regarding the identity of John Browne will be published in the forthcoming *Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*. I am grateful to Dr Bowers for allowing me to read his article in advance of publication.

⁴GB-Lbl Add. 5465, fols 53^v-58^r (MB 36, no. 51, pp. 80-5) and fols 89^v-93^r (MB 36, no. 55, pp. 104-9) respectively. Benham remarks that the Fayrfax manuscript carols may have been composed by William Browne, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1503-11: *Latin Church Music*, 82. However, the compositional style of these carols bears such a close similarity to John Browne's works in E that it seems probable that the Fayrfax carols were also composed by John Browne. Bowers believes that the inclusion of religious and other pieces to vernacular texts amongst Browne's corpus of works supports the view that, like other composers in E, Banester, Davy, Turges, Cornysh and Fayrfax, Browne was more likely to have been employed in aristocratic circles than at any collegiate foundation.

their respective patrons.⁵ Harrison omitted any mention of the coat of arms in *O mater venerabilis* in his accounts of E. Ker described it as 'three lilies argent, on a chief gules three owls of the second' but failed to identify it.⁶ This coat of arms bears no relation to the description of the de Vere coat of arms, 'quarterly, gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet argent'.⁷ The fleur-de-lis type of lily is seen in the coat of arms of Eton College, with which John Browne may have had some direct association. The inclusion of three owls certainly does not connect the arms with the house of de Vere, as the animal associated with this family is naturally the bear (playing on the Latin 'verres'). The owl, symbolic of wisdom and solemnity in classical literature, and of darkness in medieval bestiaries, reappears in the illuminated initial of one of the parts in Browne's *O regina mundi clara* in E.⁸ Sitting on a branch against a maroon background, this golden owl may have been conceived as a fitting reminder that the person who is unquestionably the most accomplished composer represented in E may have been similarly recognized by his contemporaries.⁹ The coat of arms may well be that of John Browne himself and the preservation of allegorical references to him in the illuminations in E then read as a reminder of the great esteem in which John Browne was held.

Fifteen compositions are ascribed to Browne in the contemporary index on fol. a1^r of E and of these, ten have survived in varying states of completeness (see Table 2.1 overleaf). All these compositions incorporate pre-existent material as a cantus firmus, although the cantus firmus in *O mater venerabilis* is yet to be identified. Browne's favoured method of integrating a cantus firmus is in a structural fashion, with the cantus firmus laid out principally in considerably longer note values than the surrounding voices. The cantus firmus is normally presented in the tenor and most frequently is stated in fully scored passages. These features are also characteristic of a large proportion of the music

founded upon a cantus firmus in E by other composers. The elaborated type of cantus firmus also occurs in Browne's compositions, with the melodically and rhythmically embroidered cantus firmus heard usually in the highest part of a vocal complex.

⁵In Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* there appear the coats of arms of England, Westminster, Magdalen College (where the piece was written in one day according to an annotation at the end of fol. k6^r) and Henry Bost (the provost of Eton who died 7 February 1504), with a fifth now defaced. In Sutton's *Salve regina*, the coat of arms of Eton College appears on fol. h4^r.

⁶Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 773.

⁷Woodward and Burnett, *Woodward's A Treatise on Heraldry*, 308.

⁸Fol. d3^r in a part with C₃-clef labelled 'mean 2' in MB 10, 72.

⁹For an alternative interpretation of this illumination, see p. 49 below.

TABLE 2.1 John Browne's compositions in the Eton Choirbook

Incipit	Order in E	Foliation reference	Extant	No. in ed.	No. of voices	Text reference	Liturgical type	Cantus firmus	Liturgical type/type of text	Source of cantus firmus
<i>O Maria salvatrix mater</i>	1	a1 ^v -a4 ^t	a1 ^v -a4 ^t	1	8		rhymed sequence	<i>Veni dilectus meus</i>	Antiphon	Sermon Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xc11 ^v
<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	5	b8 ^v -c3 ^t	b8 ^v -c3 ^t	4	6	RH 19416 AH 54, 312	rhymed sequence	<i>Alas it is I</i>	Carol, Turges	GB-LM Add. 5465, fols 17 ^v -19 ^t MB 36-34
<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	7	c5 ^v -c8 ^t	c6 ^t -c8 ^t	5	6	RH 33675	rhymed sequence	<i>Exultat vir opimus</i>	Antiphon for St Thomas of Cant.	GB-Ob E. Mus 2, p. 175
								<i>Cadit curia (V. facit gratum)</i>	Responsory for St Thomas of Cant.	GB-Ob Rawl. lit. e. 45, fols 12 ^v -13 ^t
<i>Stabat iuxta Christi crucem</i>	8	c8 ^v -d2 ^t	c8 ^v -d2 ^t	6	6	RH 19412 AH 8, 56	rhymed sequence	<i>From stormy winds</i>	Carol, Turges	GB-LM Add. 5465, fols 104 ^t -108 ^t MB 36-64
<i>O regina mundi clara</i>	9	d2 ^v -d5 ^t	r3 ^v	7	6	RH 30962	rhymed sequence	<i>Pange lingua</i>	Hymn	GB-Ob Bodl. 948, fol. 93 ^v
<i>Salve regina</i>	20	g7 ^v -h1 ^t	g7 ^v -h1 ^t	13	5	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (trope)	antiphon	<i>Maria ergo unxit</i>	Antiphon	GB-Ob Misc. lit. 6, fol. 55 ^v
<i>Salve regina</i>	28	i7 ^v -k1 ^t	g7 ^v -h1 ^t	21	5	RH 1814 AH 50, 318 23, 57 (trope)	antiphon	<i>Veni dilectus meus</i>	antiphon	Sermon Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xcii ^v
<i>Ave lux totius mundi</i>	45	p1 ^v -p6 ^t	lost				rhymed sequence			
<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	46	p6 ^v -p6 ^t	lost		5	AH 31, 198	rhymed sequence			
<i>O mater venerabilis</i>	55	p6 ^v -a1 ^t	p6 ^v -e8 ^v	35	5		rhymed sequence	Unidentified		
<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	60	v1 ^v -v3 ^t	v1 ^v -v3 ^t	36	4	RH 33675	rhymed sequence	<i>Regali ex progenie</i>	antiphon	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 34 ^v
<i>Et exultavit</i>	68	y1 ^v -y6 ^t	lost		7		Magnificat			
<i>Et exultavit</i>	74	z8 ^v -aa2 ^t	z8 ^v	62	5		Magnificat	Counterpoint to tone 1	Magnificat counterpoint	RA56, fol. 22 ^v , C, fol. 191 ^t , N, fol. [un ^o]
<i>Et exultavit</i>	81	bb4 ^v -bb7 ^t	lost		5		Magnificat			
<i>Et exultavit</i>	83	cc1 ^v -cc3 ^t	lost		4		Magnificat			

Browne's cantus firmus treatment is notable chiefly for the diverse melodic sources chosen for his cantus firmi and in the manner in which they are disposed. For Browne, the choice of a cantus firmus sometimes appears to be contingent upon a correspondence between the text associated with the pre-existent melody and that of the text set polyphonically. This chapter will focus upon the various means by which Browne incorporates a pre-existent melody within his compositions.¹⁰

CANTUS FIRMUS TECHNIQUES IN BROWNE'S COMPOSITIONS

Browne's compositions exhibit a wide variety of approaches to the manner in which a cantus firmus may be integrated, his inventiveness and dexterity in manipulating this technique reflecting the style of a composer of the highest calibre. Amongst the cantus firmi in E for which a source has been identified, there is a distinct preference by all other composers for plainsong antiphons and responsories. Yet the cantus firmi adopted by Browne include melodies derived from a hymn and from two secular sources, a highly unusual procedure for an Eton composer. Therefore, considered as a group, Browne's compositions in E are distinctive particularly because of the range of sources from which Browne draws his cantus firmi. The versatility in selection is evident also in the varied presentations of his chosen melodies. The breadth of cantus firmus techniques incorporated into Browne's compositions in E will be explored in this chapter.

Browne favours the structural type of cantus firmus and a bipartite arrangement of two complete cantus firmus statements is found in many of his compositions. In addition to the appearance of two complete structural statements in a composition, a partial one is sometimes inserted between these main statements. This happens in his second *Salve regina* setting (bars 114-21) and also *O regina mundi clara* (the latter occurring in the contratenor rather than the tenor). The disposition of a cantus firmus in this manner is particularly characteristic of Browne and does not occur in compositions by any other composer in E. In *O Maria salvatoris mater*, an extra partial statement is heard in the introductory section instead. Other E compositions in which this procedure is followed in the introduction are the fragmentary *Salve regina* by Brygeman and Fawkyner's *Gaude Virgo salutata*, both of which treat the cantus firmus in an imitative fashion, and Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina*.

Paraphrased cantus firmus statements are introduced in Browne's compositions, normally occurring in voices other than the voice that normally carries the cantus firmus. Such embellished presentations of the cantus firmus may be found also in several other works in E, notably those of Lambe, Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* and Wylkynson's

¹⁰Discussion of cantus firmus treatment in the two *Salve regina* settings by Browne will be reserved until chapter 3.

nine-voice *Salve regina*. Browne also employs such treatment in introductory sections, exemplified by the reference to the opening of Turges's carol *From stormy windes* in the secundus contratenor and medius of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*. Browne includes structural and elaborated cantus firmus statements within the same composition, a relatively common practice in compositions on a cantus firmus in E. However, in *O Maria salvatoris mater* he presents a structural and elaborated cantus firmus simultaneously, a technique rarely encountered.

Browne does not always quote the plainsong or carol melody in a strictly literal fashion. Mostly he adheres to the same order of notes although even here there are exceptions (as will be seen from the re-ordering of notes - in two different versions - in the final phrase of the plainsong *Venit dilectus meus* in the second of his *Salve regina* settings and *O Maria salvatoris mater*). He tends to omit notes that represent repeated pitches in the source, with the result that the continual reiteration of a single pitch is largely avoided in the cantus firmus, thus permitting new harmonies with each note of the cantus firmus. Extra free notes are commonly added to the original melody either at the beginning or ending of a cantus firmus statement. Phrases that appear to be composed independently of the cantus firmus may be inserted in fully scored passages where a statement of the cantus firmus is expected (as in his *Stabat mater dolorosa* setting). These sometimes occur in the middle of a cantus firmus statement or in cadential passages (exemplified in *Stabat mater dolorosa* and the six-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi*). These techniques point to a more relaxed approach to the cantus firmus than is seen in works by other Eton composers.¹¹

The cantus firmus may be treated as a point of imitation at the beginning of a work (as in the opening of his four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* between the upper three voices) or in the middle of a structural statement (between bassus and tenor in *O regina mundi clara*, bars 163-72). Motifs may be extracted from the cantus firmus and imitated by all voices as a means of cadential emphasis in the final section of a composition (as in *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and in both settings of *Stabat virgo mater Christi*).

Of the ten extant compositions by Browne in E, six use a version of the cantus firmus source that is transposed by an interval other than an octave at some point in the presentation of the cantus firmus. There are few examples in the fifteenth century of English composers transposing a melody with a text different from that set polyphonically as a cantus firmus other than by upwards octave transposition, a transposition that occurs fairly frequently among the compositions in E.¹² Thus, the frequent appearance of a

¹¹The incorporation of new phrases into the cantus firmus in full-voice textures appears in a few other compositions in E, exemplified by Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* (bars 144-63) and Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* (bars 99-103 and 112-28).

¹²In OH, the anonymous Gloria (fols 19^v-20^r, CMM 46, no. 24) transposes the Office antiphon *Ad Thome memoria* down a fifth from c' to f final and in Leonel Power's Credo (fols 71^v-72^r, CMM 46, no. 84) *Opem nobis*, another antiphon for the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury is also transposed down a fifth

transposed cantus firmus in Browne's compositions is unusual in terms of previous English responses to transposition. In Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* and *O regina mundi clara* structural cantus firmus statements are presented at two different pitches, with finals a fifth apart. His *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* compounds such treatment by the displacement of the cantus firmus mid-statement, transposing it down a fifth within each of the two statements.

Evidently, within Browne's hands the possibilities for incorporating a pre-existent melody are diverse and imaginative; closer examination of his compositions will explore further these techniques and consider the relationship between the set text and chosen source of the cantus firmus.

STABAT MATER DOLOROSA

The *Stabat mater dolorosa* setting in E is often acknowledged as Browne's finest achievement. The cantus firmus in *Stabat mater dolorosa* is derived from the lowest voice of a three-part carol by Turges in the Fayrfax manuscript, *Alas it is I*.¹³ Although Benham suggested that Turges's carol might be the cantus firmus in Browne's *Stabat mater dolorosa*, he felt that 'the resemblance is coincidental'.¹⁴ In view of the fact that it has been established that another carol by Turges is used in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* (see p. 36 below) and that it is eminently feasible to trace the carol melody within *Stabat mater dolorosa* it seems highly probable that *Alas it is I* is indeed the correct identification of the cantus firmus.

A reference to 'false semblance' in the carol resonates with a prominent theme in Romance literature - and one that is particularly evident in late medieval French sources - that of 'Faux semblant' and its opposition to 'Amours'.¹⁵

in the same way. The Sanctus trope *Benedictus Marie filius qui ve[n]it* is transposed down a tone in Dament's motet *Salvatoris mater/O Georgi* (OH, fols 89^v-90^r, CMM 46, no. 111). Amongst Dunstable's compositions, *Ave mundi spes Maria* (the fifth stanza from *Ave gemma caeli luminarium*) is transposed down a fifth in *Gaude virgo salutata* (ModB, fols 113^v-114^r, MB 8, no. 28) and *Tibi Christe splendor Patris* is transposed up a fourth in *Christe sanctorum decus* (ModB, fols 95^v-96^r, MB 8, no. 25). In keeping with its notation in Sarum chant books, *Alma redemptoris mater*, when used as a cantus firmus, appears variously with *c'* and *f* as its final.

¹³GB-Lbl Add. 5465 fols 17^v-19^r (MB 36, no. 34, pp. 45-6).

¹⁴Benham, 'Prince Arthur', 466.

¹⁵On the subject of 'Faux semblant' in literature and its connection with music, see Brownlee, 'Machaut's Motet 15' and Bent, 'Deception, Exegesis and Sounding Number'.

Alas it is I that wot not what to say,
For why I stond as he that is abused;
Thereas I trusted, I was late cast away.
And no cause given to be so refused;
But pity it is that trust should be misused
Other by colour or false semblance;
Where that is used can be no surance.

Browne's employment of a cantus firmus with a vernacular source renders him exceptional amongst fifteenth-century English composers; the only known English antecedent is Bedingham's Mass on Binchois's ballade *Deuil angoisieux*.¹⁶ In E, the only other known occurrence of such a procedure is Browne's own *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*. The highly unusual choice of a cantus firmus from a vernacular source is indicative of Browne's innovative approaches to composition. In *Stabat mater dolorosa* he appears to experiment with the various possibilities of incorporating a melody from a non-liturgical source as will be examined below.

SETTINGS OF STABAT MATER DOLOROSA IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

The Passiontide rhymed sequence, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, was a favourite medieval text, appearing recurrently in books of hours from the thirteenth century onwards. The most well-known setting of *Stabat mater dolorosa* by a fifteenth-century continental composer is the five-part one by Josquin.¹⁷ Josquin's setting has in common with Browne's the incorporation of a melody that is associated with a vernacular text as the cantus firmus. In Josquin's setting, the cantus firmus is the tenor of Binchois's ballade *Comme femme desconfortée*, a text that takes the 'Stabat mater' theme for its inspiration.¹⁸ Josquin's composition is described by Finscher as symbolic because of this incorporation of a cantus firmus from a vernacular source on the same subject.¹⁹ The earliest extant English polyphonic settings of *Stabat mater dolorosa* occur in E amid contributions from the later composers. There are two settings by Cornysh (one of which is now lost) and one each by Fayrfax (also lost) and Davy. All of these are in five parts, making Browne's six-part

¹⁶The movements of this Mass are preserved in Tr88 and Tr90, with an edition appearing in DTÖ 61, 127-35. A Mass on 'A dew mes a mowrs' is listed in the King's College inventory of 1529: Harrison, *MMB*, 433. Harrison notes that a four-part song by Cornysh *Adew mes amours* survives in GB-Lbl Add. 31922.

¹⁷Josquin, *Werken*, no. 36.

¹⁸Unlike the cantus firmi in many other motets by Josquin, the text of the cantus firmus voice is not provided. Indeed, there is no underlay for the cantus firmus at all and the extreme length of the notes in this structural tenor makes text underlay problematic. One solution (adopted by Smijers) is to underlay the cantus firmus with the first stanza of *Stabat mater dolorosa*.

¹⁹Recorded from a discussion of Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa* in Josquin des Prez, ed. Lowinsky, 659.

setting exceptional amongst both continental and insular *Stabat mater dolorosa* settings of the time.

One of the most striking differences between the settings of *Stabat mater dolorosa* in E and those from the Continent is that the E composers all adopt a text that re-orders the normal one and also incorporates new material. In the E settings, stanzas 1 to 6 are followed by stanzas 9 and 10; stanzas 7 and 8 are omitted altogether.²⁰ Following stanza 10 of the original *Stabat mater dolorosa* text, the E settings append six four-line octosyllabic rhyming stanzas.²¹ This new text continues the description of the grieving Virgin Mary and the final two stanzas conclude with a plea for intercession. The author of this text is unknown; however, interesting parallels may be drawn between the inclusion of these four-line stanzas and the four-line stanzas derived in part from the hymn *Virgo mater ecclesiae* that are routinely incorporated as a trope in fifteenth-century English settings of *Salve regina*, again an almost exclusively English phenomenon (see chapter 3). As in the E *Salve regina* settings, the surviving *Stabat mater dolorosa* settings by Cornysh, Davy and Browne all distinguish the stanzas belonging to the *Stabat mater dolorosa* text from those of the borrowed material. In the settings by Cornysh and Davy this is effected by way of a new section, defined by a vertical stroke through all parts and a musical cadence, whilst in Browne's setting a change of texture is made.

In commenting upon Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa*, Reese notes that Josquin's predilection for metrical texts is not mirrored in any musical way rather, his sense of the dramatic possibilities of the text are of more importance than the emphasis of the text's rhymed structure.²² This comment is also applicable to Browne's setting of *Stabat mater dolorosa*.

THE LAYOUT OF THE CANTUS FIRMUS

The first three sections in Browne's *Stabat mater dolorosa* are in *tempus perfectum diminutum* (Φ) and the final section is in *tempus imperfectum diminutum* (ϰ). The substitution of the Φ for ϰ mensuration coincides with the change from a dramatic presentation of the text with the cries 'crucifige, crucifige' at the end of stanza 10, to a more reflective commentary, 'O quam gravis illa poena, tibi virgo poenae plena'.²³

Only a portion of the lowest voice of Turges's carol is used by Browne as the cantus firmus (Example 2.1): in its various statements no more than the first twenty notes

²⁰There is nothing in the content of these two stanzas that would account for their omission.

²¹The only irregularity in the syllabic scheme occurs in the final line of stanza 9 in the E settings, 'Nullum reum crimine', which contains seven instead of eight syllables.

²²Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 253.

²³The potential for dramatic opportunities that surface with the words 'crucifige, crucifige' at the end of the second of the four-line stanzas are explored by Davy and Cornysh as well as Browne.

of the carol melody, associated with the words 'Alas it is I that wot not what to say, For why I stond', are quoted.²⁴

EXAMPLE 2.1

Fig. 18

A - las. It is I that wot not what to say, For
 A - las. It is I that wot not what to say, For
 why I stond as be that is a - bu - sed; There-as I trus -
 For why I stond as be that is a - bu - sed; There-as I trus -
 stond as be that is a - bu - sed; There-as I

Turges's compositions are among the more harmonically adventurous in E, although his apparent disinclination to integrate a cantus firmus precludes his works from being examined in any detail here. In Browne's *Stabat mater dolorosa*, the tenor of Turges's carol is transposed up a fourth so that its final is *g* instead of *d*. Accidental B's are added to the cantus firmus melody and the essential melodic construction of the original is retained in its upwards transposition. There is no ostensible reason for this transposition, as it is feasible to accommodate the carol melody at its notated pitch within the ambitus of Browne's tenor. Harrison commented that

while it would be misleading to suggest that there was any regular connection between the composer's choice of mode and the subject of his text, it may be noted that all the settings of *Stabat mater* were written in the second mode transposed down a fifth...²⁵

The association of particular modes with a certain ethos originated in Classical Antiquity and occurs in the philosophy of Plato. Almost invariably mode 2 is characterized by

²⁴MB 36, no. 34, 45-6.

²⁵Harrison, *MMB*, 324.

Renaissance theorists as being suitable for lamentation and of a sombre disposition.²⁶ Whilst it is not possible to establish whether Browne, Davy and Cornysh all chose the transposed D mode for their *Stabat mater dolorosa* settings for this reason, it is conceivable that the character of the mode was sufficiently ingrained for these composers naturally to adopt it for their settings.²⁷ This aspect of the connection between modes and subject requires further exploration and a complete study of its own.

The cantus firmus is treated in a variety of ways in this setting; it serves a structural function in some of the fully scored passages, it appears in embellished forms both as introductory material and in a cadential section, occurring initially as a point of imitation in the latter. It is noteworthy that the cantus firmus is included with significant parts of the text, in particular, with the opening words, with 'in tanto supplicio' (the words that complete the rhetorical question of stanza 5 at the end of the first section), the cries 'crucifige, crucifige' in the third section and with the final 'Amen'. Browne may have been emphasizing these parts of the text as being especially important through the integration of the cantus firmus in these passages.

The cantus firmus first appears in the opening of the composition in an elaborated fashion in the tenor beginning on *g* and in a more embellished version an octave higher in the triplex (Example 2.2).²⁸ The imitative entry of the quatrux presents the cantus firmus a twelfth higher on *d''*, that is, two octaves higher than the original notation of the melody in the carol. This serves as an anticipatory statement to the first structural presentation of the cantus firmus in the first fully scored passage, 'O quam tristis' (bar 34). The use of quasi-anticipatory statements of the cantus firmus in this manner occurs in several of Browne's compositions: *O Maria salvatoris mater*, *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and the first *Salve regina*.²⁹

²⁶Discussed by Frutolfus (before 1100) and Burtius in his *Opusculum musices* (1487). See Powers: 'Mode', 398-9. The sombre nature of mode 2 is also included in Aaron's *Trattato*, chapter 25 quoted in Powers: 'Is Mode Real?', Appendix I.

²⁷Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa* is written in the F mode (attested by Aaron's mode 5 classification of it in *De Institutione harmonica*, 1516) instead of the transposed D mode used in English settings.

²⁸The introduction of the cantus firmus in an embellished form in the opening of the composition is a treatment that may also be seen in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting.

²⁹Anticipatory statements or allusions to the cantus firmus in introductory sections are also a feature of Lambe's *O Maria gratia plena* and his compositions which use the corresponding plainsong as a cantus firmus, the *Salve regina* settings by Brygeman and Wylkynson (nine-voice) and Fawkyner's *Gaude virgo salutata* setting.

EXAMPLE 2.2

The musical score for Example 2.2 is a six-part setting of a cantus firmus. The staves are labeled: QUATRECE (Quatrece), TREBLE (Treble), MEAN (Mean), TENOR (Tenor), COUNTER-TENOR (Counter-tenor), and BASS (Bass). The cantus firmus is written in the Tenor part. The lyrics are: 'A - las! A - las! ma - ter de - le - re - re! A - las! A - las! ma - ter de - le - re - re! A - las! A - las! ma - ter de - le - re - re! A - las! A - las! ma - ter de - le - re - re!'.

A comparison between the structural statements of the cantus firmus in *Stabat mater dolorosa* reveals that Browne takes a flexible approach to the melodic and rhythmic appearance of the cantus firmus. Additional notes are regularly incorporated into the *Alas it is I* melody, with subsequent statements of the cantus firmus rarely repeating the same interpolations. Unlike the normal disposition of a cantus firmus in compositions in E, the carol melody is not always apparent in the tenor in fully scored textures in this setting. In several of these passages, the structural tenor abandons the melody of the carol altogether in favour of a freely composed melody. This occurs most notably with the words 'Dum videbat et gerebat' in stanza 4 (bars 48-52) and the whole of stanzas 9 (bars 123-34) and 13 (bars 193-206).³⁰ A structural cantus firmus statement in bars 212-17 begins independently of the carol melody, although this may be discerned from bar 216. It is also unusual to find that the six-part settings of stanzas 3, 9 and 13 are linked by a recurring melody beginning *d"-e"-c"-b-b'* which is stated with variations in the quatruxplex.

There are several examples of the incorporation of an elaborated cantus firmus statement in the texture, from the opening of the setting in which all three participating voices have a differently embellished version of the cantus firmus, to its use in the quatruxplex prior to the cadence which marks the end of the rhetorical question, 'Quis est homo qui non fleret, Matrem Christi si videret, In tanto supplicio?' ('Who is the man who would not weep, were he to see the Mother of Christ in such great supplication?'), in bars

³⁰Possibly, the cantus firmus in these passages may be derived from a different source altogether from *Alas it is I* as it bears little relation to any of the three parts in Turges's carol.

74-7 at the end of the first section (Example 2.3). The torment in the words is underlined by rhetorically conceived musical behaviour.

EXAMPLE 2.3

Notes 5 to 7 of the carol melody are introduced in the bassus at the transposed D mode pitch, (the melody beginning on *d*, bar 69). This idea is imitated by the tenor a fifth above the bassus, that is, beginning on *a*. This means that instead of retaining the normal transposed D-mode appearance of the cantus firmus, the tenor reverts to the normal untransposed D-mode (with *d* final) appearance of the melody found in Turges's carol. This is the only occurrence of the cantus firmus at this transposition in the tenor in *Stabat mater dolorosa*. The cantus firmus is imitated further in the quatruxplex (bars 74-7), receiving its fullest exposition in this passage by quoting notes 5 to 20 with minimal deviations from the melody of the carol. The embellished presentation of the cantus firmus in short note values in the highest voice is a particularly unusual treatment of a cantus firmus. Elsewhere in E paraphrased statements occurring in voices other than that which normally carries the cantus firmus (the tenor) may be seen. In those of Lambe's compositions which include the plainsong corresponding to the set text as a cantus firmus, paraphrased statements of the chant appear fairly regularly, in keeping with the practice of integrating a cantus firmus observed in similar English mid-fifteenth-century compositions. Apart from Browne's treatment, perhaps the most unusual presentation of a cantus firmus may be seen in Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina*, in which the antiphon *Assumpta est Maria* becomes increasingly embellished when presented in the medius, transposed up a fifth, following the initial 'salve' section (bars 7-17, Example 2.4).

[illegible]

Despite the inclusion of a B^b signature in all parts, the addition of the b^a accidental in the bassus (bar 74) presages the cadential movement *d* to A which is indicative of D mode in its untransposed form. Therefore, the words 'In tanto supplicio' ('in such great supplication') may be reflected musically by the presentation of the cantus firmus in the untransposed D mode in contradistinction to the transposed D-mode appearance which is otherwise used for the tenor cantus firmus throughout the first section. Further research is required to examine whether Browne might have viewed the presentation of a melody in a mode with D final or transposed D mode with G final as constituting differing tonal areas; however it is a possibility that should be considered in the context of his treatment of the cantus firmus in this composition.

Despite the evident risk of anachronism, it is hard to interpret Browne's setting of the words 'plebs tunc canit clamorosa, crucifige, crucifige' as anything other than a vivid portrayal of the crowd clamouring for Christ's crucifixion (Example 2.5).³¹ The words 'crucifige, crucifige' which form the last line of the tenth stanza are given special treatment

³¹Benham and Wulstan comment on the 'naturalistic depiction' of this part of the text in Browne's setting: *Latin Church Music*, 86 and *Tudor Music*, 253 respectively. A musical representation of these words also may be apparent in the *Stabat mater dolorosa* settings by Cornysh and Davy.

by their appearance in a section separate from that containing the first three lines of this stanza. Moreover, the insistent repetition of the cries is heightened by the addition of each new voice.

EXAMPLE 2.5

The musical score for Example 2.5 is a fully scored statement of the cantus firmus in the tenor voice. It is written for a six-part choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, Contralto, and Contrbass) and includes Latin lyrics. The music features a complex texture with multiple voices entering and imitating the cantus firmus melody. The lyrics include 'Pater, hunc da - ni - cla - ra - ro - ni - ka', 'Cre - ti fi - ge', and 'Cre - ti fi - ge, Cre - ti fi - ge'.

In this section the cantus firmus is heard in the tenor in the fully scored statement of the final two cries of 'crucifige' with a portion taken from notes 5 to 14 of the carol associated with the words 'I that wot not what to say'. In addition, it is conceivable that the setting of the words 'crucifige, crucifige' in the medius in bars 146-7 which is then imitated in the quatruxplex over bars 148-50 is derived from the melody in bars 10-11 in the highest voice of Turges's carol associated with the words 'is abused'. Although possibly coincidental, it is also feasible to trace the triplex melody from bar 38 of the carol (the beginning of the second section) associated with the words 'But pity it is that trust should be misused' in parts of Browne's *Stabat mater dolorosa*. Initially the melody may be seen in the point of imitation between tenor, triplex and quatruxplex in bars 8-10. This is followed by its

appearance in the tenor in bars 137-8 migrating to the triplex in bars 140-2 with the words 'Iuxta natum dolorosa, Plebs tunc canit' (Example 2.6).

EXAMPLE 2.6

Turges: *Alas it is I*

But pi - ty it is that trust should be mis - u - sed

But pi - ty it is that trust should be mis - u - sed

But pi - ty it is that trust should be mis - u - sed

O - ther by an - ther

O - ther by an - ther

O - ther by an - ther

Browne: *Stabat mater dolorosa*

Et dum sta - til ge - ne - ra - tu - na - tum de - re - re - re

Et dum sta - til ge - ne - ra - tu - na - tum de - re - re - re

Et dum sta - til ge - ne - ra - tu - na - tum de - re - re - re

Et dum sta - til ge - ne - ra - tu - na - tum de - re - re - re

Et dum sta - til ge - ne - ra - tu - na - tum de - re - re - re

Plebs

Compared with the style of cantus firmus presentation in Browne's *O regina mundi clara* and second *Salve regina* settings where the pre-existent melody is clearly identifiable and plays a key structural function, the limited incorporation of *Alas it is I* in *Stabat mater dolorosa* suggests that he was experimenting with the possibilities of integrating material from a vernacular source in this setting. By contrast, his handling of the carol melody in *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* is altogether more assured, the extensive and organized presentation of the cantus firmus indicating perhaps, a composer more at ease with this novel approach to the selection of pre-existent material than was evident in the possibly earlier *Stabat mater dolorosa* setting.

STABAT IUXTA CHRISTI CRUCEM

The second composition in E by Browne for which a melody with a vernacular text is known to be the source of a cantus firmus is his six-part setting of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*. Once again he turned to a carol by Turges, the content of which provided him with the opportunity to introduce a personal dimension to the *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* text. As a consequence, the content of the underlying carol places Browne's composition within a specific historical context.

Stabat iuxta Christi crucem is a sequence of York Use and may be seen in devotional collections from the early fifteenth century such as the Book of Hours, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. lit. f. 2, fol. 14^v (from, or from near York, c.1410).³² *Analecta Hymnica* includes twelve stanzas for this text as in *GB-Ob* Lat. lit. f. 2; however, Browne omits stanzas 5 to 8 in his setting.³³ He also reverses the order of stanzas 2 and 3, an alteration that is also seen in *GB-Ob* Lat. lit. f. 2. These variations do not impair the understanding or sense to any great extent. This text concerns the Crucifixion and is an expression of the Virgin Mary's grief in the manner of *Stabat mater dolorosa*.³⁴

THE CANTUS FIRMUS

Turges's carol, *From stormy windes*, is the source of the cantus firmus in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and, as with *Alas it is I*, it is the melody of the lowest voice that is appropriated for the cantus firmus.³⁵ The text of *From stormy windes* indicates that it was written prior to the departure of Henry VII's son Prince Arthur upon a journey and is essentially a prayer for his safety:

³²van Dijk, 'Handlist', 4, 145.

³³AH 8, 56.

³⁴The text is published in *Religious Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, no. 4.

³⁵*GB-Lbl* Add. 5465, fols 104^v-108^r (MB 36, no. 64, pp. 135-7).

- Burden* From stormy windes and grievous weather,
Good Lord preserve the Estrige feather!
- Stanza 1* O blessed Lord of heaven celestial,
Which formed hast of thy most special grace
Arthur, our prince to us here terrestial
In honour to reign, Lord grant him time and space;
Which of alliance
Our prince of pleassance
By inheritance
Of England and of France
Right heir for to be;
Wherefore now sing we:
Burden
- Stanza 2* Wherefore, good Lord, sith of thy creation
Is this noble prince of royal lineage,
In every case be his preservation,
With joy to rejoice his due inheritance,
His right to obtain,
In honour to reign,
This heir of Britayne,
Of Castile and Spain,
Right heir for to be;
Wherefore now sing we:
Burden
- Stanza 3* Now, good Lady, among thy saintes all,
Pray to thy Son, the second in Trinity,
For this young prince which is and daily shall be
Be thy servant with all his heart so free,
O celestial,
Mother maternal,
Empress infernal,
To thee we cry and call,
His safeguard to be;
Wherefore now sing we:
Burden

Prince Arthur, whose marriage to Catherine of Aragon was solemnised in 1501, died in April 1502.³⁶ Therefore, Browne's integration of the carol *From stormy windes in Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* may assume an allegorical function, the Virgin Mary's sorrow over the death of Christ her Son serving as a parallel for the grief of Elizabeth the Queen over the death of her son, the heir to the throne, Prince Arthur.³⁷ Obviously, the choice of cantus firmus is of fundamental importance to the understanding of this *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting - surely composed not long after the death of Prince Arthur in 1502. It thus provides one of the few internal references in E to a possible date of composition. If John Browne was indeed a member of the thirteenth Earl of Oxford's retinue, this may explain Browne's particular interest in Prince Arthur in his compositions. The Earl was invited to be godfather to the Prince; however, rain prevented him from attending the christening.³⁸ Even so, the obviously close ties between the Earl's family and the Prince may account for allusions to Prince Arthur in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*.

In Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting, the eight-stanza text is divided into two equal parts, the first half ending with the words concluding 'pastoris pro ovibus'. Unlike Turges's carol, which remains in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* throughout, Browne uses the bipartite arrangement of mensuration that is encountered fairly often amongst his compositions, resulting in the first half of the setting being in *tempus perfectum diminutum* and the final section in *tempus imperfectum diminutum*.

Browne's treatment of *From stormy windes* differs from that of *Alas it is I* in *Stabat mater dolorosa*. In the latter, only a portion taken from the opening of the carol is used for each of the structural statements of the cantus firmus. In the first half of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* the first of the two structural cantus firmus statements quotes the complete melody from the burden of *From stormy windes* (the opening of which is shown in Example 2.7). Approximately three-quarters of the lowest voice from stanza 1 then follows in the second structural cantus firmus statement in the final section of Browne's setting.

³⁶Prince Arthur is the subject of a so-called 'Magnificat Window' in the North transept of the Priory Church in Great Malvern which may be dated 1501. It was evidently glazed to commemorate the marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon and the figure of Arthur is seen in the centre of the window surrounded by a choir of angels. Rickert observes that 'it is called the *Magnificat* window from its subject, the Joys of Our Lady, which illustrate the stanzas of the *Magnificat* hymn in separate scenes in the main part of the window'. *Painting in Britain*, 195, Pl. 200.

³⁷Benham identified the carol as the source of the cantus firmus and considered the possible connection between *From stormy windes* and *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*: 'Prince Arthur', 463-6.

³⁸Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, 47. As Henry VII's lord great chamberlain and admiral, the Earl of Oxford was one of the king's most trusted councillors among the aristocracy.

EXAMPLE 2.7

From stor - my win - dex and grie - vous wea - ther, Good

Lord, pre - serve the Es - si ge Fi - sh! From stor - my win - dex and grie - vous

wea - ther, Good Lord, pre - serve the Es - si ge Fi - sh!

The introductory statement of this cantus firmus features a point of imitation between the secundus contratenor and the medius (Example 2.8). The initial phrase of the lowest voice from the carol is heard in the medius in imitation of a phrase of similar melodic shape presented in the secundus contratenor beginning on *f*. In fact, the phrase stated in the contratenor is that associated with words from the carol '[wea]ther, Good Lord, preserve the', notes 31-6.

EXAMPLE 2.8

The image shows a page from a musical score for 'Ave Maria' by Franz Schubert. The score is written for voice and piano. The vocal parts are labeled 'Soprano', 'Alto', 'Tenor', and 'Bass'. The piano accompaniment is labeled 'Piano'. The score includes a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 3/4. The lyrics are in Latin: 'Ave - ma - ria tu - Chris - ti ana - (em Vi - da)'. The score is divided into measures, with some measures containing multiple notes and rests. The piano part features a prominent melody in the right hand, with some measures marked with '32 33 34 35 36'. The overall style is classical and elegant.

In most of the compositions on a cantus firmus in E, the structural statements of the cantus firmus are normally presented in fully scored passages. In *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* Browne adheres to this practice, with the entry of the first structural cantus firmus statement coinciding with the opening of stanza 3 'Vidit corpus flagellari' (bar 41). The cantus firmus is laid out mostly in substantially longer note values than those of the surrounding voices and Browne tends to omit notes that are repeated in the cantus melody. A quasi-imitative entry of the cantus firmus in the bassus (bars 42-6) transposes the opening notes of the carol melody down a third on to *f*.

As the cantus firmus, the carol melody is quoted within each of the two main structural statements in the tenor not only at its original pitch but also in a transposed version. In the middle of the first structural statement the cantus firmus is transposed down a fifth (bar 65), coinciding with the beginning of the phrase from *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, 'Mitis a crudelibus'. The cantus firmus phrase is taken from the end of bar 9 in the carol (with the words '[win]des and grievous weather', Example 2.9).³⁹

EXAMPLE 2.9

The image displays a musical score for a tenor part, likely from a larger work. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows a tenor line with a cantus firmus transposed down a fifth, indicated by a line connecting it to the original melody in the carol. The second system shows the tenor line continuing with the cantus firmus transposed up a fifth. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines, along with some text in Latin and English.

Such treatment of the cantus firmus is exceptional among the compositions in E. The only other known occurrence of such a transposition in the tenor mid-cantus firmus statement is that found in Lambe's *Salve regina* in which the corresponding antiphon migrates to the bassus at the words 'gementes et flentes' and is then imitated by the tenor a fifth above (bars 40-2, see Example 3.4, p. 100). The tenor reverts to the original pitch of the antiphon in its presentation as the cantus firmus immediately after this short passage. Browne's presentation of the cantus firmus at two different pitches within structural

³⁹The only other examples of transposition of a cantus firmus occurring within a composition in E are to be found in Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* in which the cantus firmus is transposed up a fifth when presented in a paraphrased form in the medius in bars 7-17 and in Lambe's *Salve regina* where the corresponding plainsong is transposed up a fifth in bars 40-2 and up a fourth in bar 171.

statements differs from Lambe's treatment principally because Browne's *cantus firmus* is one that is different from the text set polyphonically. In addition, in Lambe's setting, the *cantus firmus* is heard at the original pitch simultaneously with the transposed version as a point of imitation whereas in Browne's setting the original and transposed versions occur successively within the same voice.

The second structural cantus firmus statement commences with the text 'Totum corpus cruentatum' from bar 86, continuing with the carol melody from the first stanza of *From stormy winds* transposed down a fifth. The cantus firmus reverts to the original pitch of the carol in bar 160 (coinciding with the words 'virgo pia', Example 2.10), the transposed and original portions of the melody being separated by only a semibreve rest. The carol melody from the stanza is stated as the cantus firmus until the end of the line from the carol, 'Lord, grant him time and space' (bar 39, note 128) when the last note of this phrase, *a*, effectively becomes the first note in a first restatement of the opening melody of the burden (bar 174 in *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*).

EXAMPLE 2.10

Turges: *From stormy winds*

76 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95

O bles - sed Lord of hea - ven ce - le - sti - al, Which for-med hast of thy own

96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111

spe - ci - al grace Ar - thou, our prince to us here ter - res - ti -

112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123

- al Lord, grant him time and space, Which of al - li -

Browne: *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*

[illegible]

EXAMPLE 2.10 (continued)

The musical score is divided into three systems, each with six staves (Soprano, Alto, Tenor 1, Tenor 2, Bass 1, Bass 2). The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes a cantus firmus in the soprano line and polyphonic settings in the other voices.

System 1 (Measures 165-178):

- Measures 165-178:** The cantus firmus is in the soprano line. The other voices enter with a polyphonic setting. The lyrics are: "tis vi - a, Vir - go ple - na gra - ti - a, lu - be - na - tum".

System 2 (Measures 179-192):

- Measures 179-192:** The cantus firmus continues. The other voices continue the polyphonic setting. The lyrics are: "et im - plo - ra Ser - vis tu - is si - ne mo - ra", "ple - na gra - ti - a, lu - be - na - tum et im - plo - ra Ser - vis tu - is si - ne mo - ra".

System 3 (Measures 193-206):

- Measures 193-206:** The cantus firmus continues. The other voices continue the polyphonic setting. The lyrics are: "No - bis do - net", "No - bis do - net", "No - bis do - net".

In the setting of the final word of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, 'gaudia', the opening motif of the burden is used in the same rhythmic guise as the motif associated with the words 'From stormy windes', notes 48-52 of the carol (bars 16-17). In the polyphonic setting, this is treated as a tightly knit point of imitation between all voices beginning with the secundus bassus. However, the motif is transposed downwards on to *d* initially and is imitated subsequently by the medius and secundus tenor on *g* a fourth above (Example 2.11). Such use of a motif from the cantus firmus in an extensive passage of imitation is rarely encountered in E. In the movement towards the final cadence the structural cantus firmus is introduced for the last time (bars 190-5) quoting notes 72 to 77, the melodic phrase that completes the burden of the carol.

EXAMPLE 2.11

From stormy windes



Stabat iuxta Christi crucem

A complex polyphonic musical score for six voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor 1 (T), Tenor 2 (C), Tenor 3 (C), and Bass (B). The score is divided into two systems. The first system covers measures 48 to 52, and the second system covers measures 72 to 77. The lyrics are: 'gaudia', 'gaudia', 'gaudia', 'gaudia', 'gaudia', 'gaudia'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines, with measure numbers 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77 indicated above the staves.

A striking feature of this composition is the narrow range, all six voices encompassing an overall ambitus of fourteen notes, *F* to *e'*. This requires the use of a *C*₄-clef in the highest voice (which Harrison has labelled 'mean' and will be called here 'medius'). The dense scoring that arises from this narrow range intensifies the harmonic language which is used to considerable effect. Browne introduces a two-flat signature into the medius on several occasions whilst retaining a one-flat signature in the lower parts. In the following example from the duo 'In dolore tunc fuisti' (bars 104-12, Example 2.12), the semitone movement *d-e^b-d* in the lowest voice occurs near to the note *A*, introducing the flattened fifth. Browne repeats this melodic idea in *O Maria salvatoris mater*, with the introduction of *e^b* in the bassus with the words 'Morbo vel tristia' cadencing shortly afterwards on *A* (bars 123-5). A similar procedure is used by Josquin leading up to the final cadence in the Credo of his *Missa Malheur me bat*, described by Sparks as a 'startling harmonic effect'.⁴⁰ In *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* the word 'fuisti' ends with a cadence moving from *a^b* to *g* in the lowest voice.

EXAMPLE 2.12



Browne's use of two carols as cantus firmi indicates a resourcefulness and expertise which sets him apart from other contributors to *E*. It is perhaps even more remarkable to consider that he was selecting such cantus firmi not for inclusion in a setting of the Mass Ordinary as in Bedingham's *Deuil angoisseux* Mass and the many fifteenth-century continental Mass settings on vernacular cantus firmi, but rather for incorporation in settings of devotional poems. This approach had few precedents, either in England or on the Continent. Among the known settings of a sacred text (not taken from the Mass Ordinary) which use a vernacular cantus firmus are an anonymous setting of *Salve regina* on the *Le serviteur* melody in *Tr90*,⁴¹ the setting of *Ave rosa speciosa* probably by Regis that incorporates the *L'homme armé* melody as a secular *res facta* in the lowest voice in addition to the cantus firmus, the antiphon *Beata mater et innupta virgo*, and Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa* setting on *Comme femme desconfortée*. The textual interrelationships that are potentially

⁴⁰Sparks, *CFMM*, 351.

⁴¹Strohm, *The Rise of European Music*, 438, n. 197.

present in such settings have been acknowledged by modern scholars.⁴² Browne's technique of combining secular melodies with Latin devotional texts parallels that of his continental counterparts and deserves similar recognition.

It appears that Browne carefully selected particular carols in order to reflect the content of the texts that he was setting and, in the case of *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, a topical reference to the death of Prince Arthur was thereby incorporated. Intentional interaction between underlying texts of the sources used as cantus firmi and texts set polyphonically in E are difficult to prove without written documentation of such compositional design. However, the evidence that this is so in *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* is sufficiently strong that the possibility that other E settings may also draw some connections between the underlying text of the cantus firmus source and the set text cannot be ignored.

O REGINA MUNDI CLARA

Browne's setting of the devotional text *O regina mundi clara* in E is the only source recorded in *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.⁴³ The text follows the familiar syllabic pattern found in late medieval rhymed texts, with six-line stanzas each consisting of a pair of tercets:⁴⁴

O regina mundi clara,
Thronus Dei, caeli scala,
Ianus paradisi.
Audi preces servulorum
Luctus atque miserorum
Videas ne despici.

Inferantur, quae so, vota,
Salvatori per te nota
Nostra sint suspiria.
Solvas, oro, compeditos,
Laxa malis expeditos,
Omniumque vitia

O resplendent queen of the world,
throne of God, stairway to heaven,
door of paradise.
Hear the prayers of your servants and
may you see that the lamentation
of the wretched is not overlooked.

Let our prayers be brought before the Saviour,
I pray, and may our sighs
be known to Him through you.
Release, I pray, the fettered,
free them from evil
and may the sins of all

⁴²For a discussion of symbolism in *Ave rosa speciosa* see Houghton, 'A "New" Motet by Johannes Regis'. Finscher's comments on the symbolism in Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa* are discussed above on p. 23.

⁴³RH 30962.

⁴⁴Throughout the thesis, modernized spelling, punctuation and capitalization have been used for all texts taken from E that are quoted.

Per te vepres succidantur,
Ornamenta praebeantur,
Virtutum crescant flores.
Gemma caeli, fac placatum,
Redemptorem ex te natum,
Ne videat errores.

Scimus omnes in peccatis,
Nutu quodam te beatis,
Consortes nos facere.
Cum sit ex te incarnatus,
Quem, si ores, hic reatus
Diluet citissime.

Nunquam cessa, sed exora
Natam, ergo cum sit hora
Dici miseriae
Ne sinat in exilium
Nos mitti, sed per filium
Vivamus laetissime.
Amen.

be cut down through you, the thorn bush,
the ornaments be revealed,
the flowers of virtue grow.
Gem of heaven,
appease the Redeemer born of you,
lest He see our errors.

We all know in our sins
that with a nod you will make us
the companions of the blessed.
Since He is born from you who,
if you pray to Him, will, taking
on our sins, wash us clean immediately.

Therefore never stop,
but beseech your Son so that,
when the hour of the day of misery is here
He may not allow us to be sent into
exile, but that we may live with the
greatest of happiness through your Son.
Amen.

Another possible source for this text has now been discovered by the present writer. *O regina mundi clara* seems to be partially derived from *O regina mundi scala*, a prose text that appears in the fourteenth-century Peterborough Psalter Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 22, fol. 4^v, and also in the mid-fifteenth-century Book of Hours, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS University College 8, fols 58^v-59^r:

O regina mundi, scala celi, tronus Dei ianua paradisi, audi preces pauperum ne despicias gemitus miserorum. Inferante a te vota nostra atque suspiria conspectui redemptoris, ut que nostris excluduntur meritis per te locum apud aures optineant divicie pietatis. Dele peccata relaxa facinora, erige lapsos, solve compeditos. Per [te] succidantur vepres et germina viciorum, prebeantur flores et ornamenta virtutum. Placa precibus nitidem quem singulari puerperio genuisti salvatorem ut per te factus est particeps humanitatis nostre per te quoque nos consortes efficiat divinitatis sue. R. Veni electa mea et ponam in te tronum meum quia concupivit rex speciem tuam. V. Specie tua et pulcritudine tua intende, prospere, procede et regna. Quia concupivit.⁴⁵

⁴⁵GB-Ob Barlow 22, fol. 4^v.

The possibility that Browne himself was responsible for the authorship of the rhymed text fashioned from this prose text should not be discounted. Conceivably other texts by Browne for which E is the only known source, including *O Maria salvatoris mater* (fols a1^v-a4^r), *Stabat virgo mater Christi* (fols c5^v-c8^r) and *O mater venerabilis* (fols r6^v-s1^r), similarly may have antecedents in prose forms.

The rhymed text is typical of the petitions to Mary for intercession with its inclusion of several adjectival phrases which praise the Virgin's qualities but it is also particularly mournful in tone, emphasizing the misery of sinners and their desire to be washed free of sins so that they may be allowed to enter heaven. The reference to 'scala celi' in the prose text (which is altered to 'caeli scala' in order to fit the rhyme scheme of the text set by Browne) offers the possibility that the rhymed text was adapted specifically for celebration of the *Scala Caeli* indulgence. According to Duffy, this indulgence was associated with the dead as it was derived from a vision of St Bernard in which souls ascended to heaven by a ladder, thus the *Scala Caeli* indulgence was attached to the Requiem Mass.⁴⁶ Although originally celebrated at the Church of St Mary at Scala Coeli near St Paul's, Rome where St Bernard had been celebrating the Requiem Mass at the time of the vision, by the end of the fifteenth century certain other churches had been given special permission for the indulgence. Duffy notes that:

In May 1500 Henry VII secured the 'Scala Coeli' indulgence for requiem Masses celebrated in his new chapel in Westminster Abbey, and, in accordance with his will, it was secured for the cemetery chapel at the Savoy in 1512. The prestigious gild of St Mary at Boston in Lincolnshire procured the indulgence in 1510, and its popularity spread rapidly...⁴⁷

The tone of the *O regina mundi clara* text certainly complements the nature of the *Scala Caeli* indulgence. In the former, the prayers for absolution combined with the pleas that when death arrives sinners should not 'be sent into exile' but rather be permitted to become 'the companions of the blessed' are addressed to the Virgin who is seen to be the 'caeli scala'. The dolorous quality of the text makes it eminently suitable for performance in connection with a Requiem Mass. Conceivably, Browne's setting of *O regina mundi clara* was composed at the request of Henry VII for the newly secured *Scala Caeli* indulgence at Westminster Abbey in 1500 or was composed subsequently for performance at a royal funeral, possibly that of Prince Arthur in 1502 or Queen Elizabeth in 1503.

⁴⁶Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 375.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 376.

THE CANTUS FIRMUS

Browne uses the hymn *Pange lingua* as the cantus firmus. Several melodies are recorded for the hymn that opens with the words 'Pange lingua' in Stäblein's collection, verifying the popularity of the text from the twelfth century.⁴⁸ The melody of the hymn employed in Browne's *O regina mundi clara* is often included in liturgical sources as a mode 3 melody with *e* as its final.⁴⁹ However, in several sources this version of the hymn is transposed up a fourth, with *a* as its final, the transposition that Browne uses for his cantus firmus. The source of the melody identified as the cantus firmus for *O regina mundi clara* by Harrison in MB 10 is the rubricated noted choir Breviary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 948, fol. 142^r (c.1400, from St. Andrew Undershaft, London, Example 2.13).⁵⁰

EXAMPLE 2.13



Two texts are associated with the *Pange lingua* melody: *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis*, a hymn sung at Mattins during Holy Week and *Pange lingua gloriosi corporis mysterium*, a hymn from the feast of Corpus Christi. The choice of a hymn as the cantus firmus in a fifteenth-century English composition is again an unusual one; with the

⁴⁸According to Julian, earliest occurrences of the *Pange lingua* text may be found in eighth- and ninth-century continental sources: *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 880. The text appears in the eleventh-century Exeter Breviary, *GB-Lbl* Harl. 2961, fol. 240^r-240^v (with neumes). Neumes are also included with the incipit *Pange lingua gloriosi proelium certaminis* on fol. 70^v and references are made to it on fols 72^v and 73^r.

⁴⁹MMMA 1, mel. 56j, 188.

⁵⁰Alias St Mary Axe, Leadenhall St., London: Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 209. Harrison cites the melody with the 'corporis mysterium' text. The same melody appears three times with the 'proelium certaminis' text in *GB-Ob* Bodl. 948, on fols 93^r, 272^r and 313^r. Other examples of this melody at this transposition in English liturgical sources for this melody include the Worcester Antiphonal, *PalMus* 12, 7^a, the early fourteenth-century Antiphonal from Peterborough Abbey, Cambridge, Magdalene College, *MS* F. 4. 10, fol. 345^r, the printed Sarum Antiphonal of 1519-20, fol. clxxx^r and the 1528 Sarum Hymnal, London, British Library, c. 52. b. 21, fols xliii^r-xliiii^r.

exception of the settings of hymns in E and P which incorporate the appropriate plain-song as a cantus firmus, there are no other known instances of an English composer turning to a hymn for his cantus firmus source.

There are no direct parallels between phrases in the set text and the *Pange lingua* texts that may be interpreted at an allegorical level as a comment on contemporary historical events in the same way that the use of the carol *From stormy windes* in Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* suggests. Nevertheless, considering that amongst the ten extant settings by Browne in E, five unquestionably belong to the Passiontide season,⁵¹ the selection of a well-known hymn from this liturgical season as the cantus firmus in *O regina mundi clara* would not be wholly surprising. Both *Pange lingua* texts focus on Christ as the redeemer, rather than the Virgin as intercessor, the focal point of the set text. This apparent aberration may be explained by what Duffy describes as the 'deathbed regime displayed in late medieval sources'; namely, that at the hour of death, priority lay with the invocation of Christ principally, followed by prayers to the Virgin and then other saints and angels.⁵² In *O regina mundi clara* Browne combines invocations to both Christ (in the presence of the cantus firmus) and the Virgin Mary (in the prayers for intercession offered in the set text).

The cadell 'O' chosen by the illuminator is an owl. The selection of this symbol may be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the melancholy tone of *O regina mundi clara*. Owls sometimes appear in medieval sources with illustrations of texts related to the Jewish refusal to accept Christ, a subject that is correlated with darkness.⁵³ Owls are often considered to be representative of evil; in the early English dialogue, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, it is the owl that is the disagreeable interlocutor. The depiction of two babies in an historiated initial in Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* in E acts as a commentary on the set text (see pp. 78-9); the owl in *O regina mundi clara* may imply that the illuminator believed that the set text received its motivation from the Paschal season.

O regina mundi clara is divided into two sections, the first being in ϕ and the second in ϕ . Accordingly, Browne presents the cantus firmus in a bipartite arrangement, with one complete statement in each mensuration. In addition, he inserts a partial statement in ϕ taken from the beginning of the chant between these two complete statements. Throughout the composition he maintains a long-note layout of the cantus firmus in a

⁵¹These are the two settings of *Stabat virgo mater Christi* and the settings of *Stabat mater dolorosa*, *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and *O mater venerabilis*. By comparison, other composers in E include far fewer settings on this theme. Davy, who contributed ten compositions to E includes two Passiontide settings: a *Stabat mater dolorosa* and the Passion according to St Matthew; whilst of Cornysh's eight compositions, two settings of *Stabat mater dolorosa* represent his only contributions to this liturgical season.

⁵²Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 324-5.

⁵³See, for example, the thirteenth-century Bestiary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 764 where the screech-owl in particular is likened to the Jews and is also associated with death, darkness and evil: Bestiary, 147-8, 168-71.

somewhat archaic appearance reminiscent of that adopted by Lambe for his *Gaude flore virginali* and now fragmentary *O regina caelestis gloriae* settings in E. The stylistic differentiation that is thus established between the voice which carries the cantus firmus and the more contrapuntally conceived surrounding voices is one that is consistently sustained throughout this composition in contradistinction to those of Browne's compositions for which such differentiation between cantus firmus and non-cantus firmus parts is not so apparent: particularly the two settings which use vernacular melodies as their cantus firmi. Browne also adheres faithfully to the order of notes of the chant and largely refrains from adding new phrases to the cantus firmus either mid-statement or in passages leading to important cadences, treatments which have been noted earlier as common in his compositions in E.⁵⁴ These literal approaches to the integration of a cantus firmus may suggest that *O regina mundi clara* represents one of Browne's early compositions. However, it must be remembered that although attention has been drawn to Lambe as a composer who presented cantus firmi in note values of extreme length, the long-note cantus firmus layout is also found in much of Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina* and *O virgo prudentissima* and parts of Fawkyner's *Gaude virgo salutata* and *Gaude rosa sine spina* settings. Fawkyner may well have been one of the later composers represented in E as he employs a number of cantus firmus techniques that are also used by Browne, Wylkynson and Brygeman.⁵⁵ The decision to distinguish between voices with and without the cantus firmus in this manner may suggest that the pre-existent material is important on a number of levels; the possibility of visual recognition of the chant (if not the audible identification of it) signalling a personal recognition of subtle links between cantus firmus and set text on the part of the composer.

Segmentation of the chant within each of the two complete statements in *O regina mundi clara* is carried out in essentially the same manner, dividing the cantus firmus into sections comprising notes 1 to 19, 20 to 32, and 32 to 51. The first of these corresponds with the completion of the first two lines of the *Pange lingua* text; however, the second finishes three notes before the end of the fourth line of text. The reason for this apparent anomaly seems to lie in Browne's concern for structural coherence within the melody of his cantus firmus. By finishing on note 32 rather than note 35, the cantus firmus segment ends on *a*, rather than *g*, note 35 (or *d'*, notes 33 and 34). This means that every cantus firmus segment begins and ends on either *a* or *c'*. From this it can be inferred that in *O regina mundi clara*, Browne is concerned primarily with the melodic structure of his cantus

⁵⁴Alterations to the chant are restricted to the omission of notes in the cantus firmus that are repeated in the original chant and the repetition of the last note *a*, at the end of each cantus firmus statement. The only other alteration occurs with the addition of *a-g-a* after note 32 at the end of a cantus firmus segment in bars 67-8.

⁵⁵See p. 24 above.

firmus. Despite similarities between the syllabic construction of *Pange lingua* (alternating lines of 8 and 7 syllables) and that of the rhymed text there is little evidence to suggest that Browne incorporated such structural parallels in the texts into the organization of the cantus firmus. However, the first two lines of the chant may have particular significance as they make an additional appearance in an independent cantus firmus statement. Possibly, the opening words 'Pange lingua' ('Sing my tongue') held a special appeal to a composer.

The introduction of a partial statement which separates the two main structural cantus firmus statements is a design that Browne also employs for his second *Salve regina* setting.⁵⁶ In *O regina mundi clara*, the first eighteen notes of the cantus firmus, associated with the first two lines of *Pange lingua* are heard together with the words 'Consortes nos facere' from the set text. Contrast between the complete cantus firmus statements is provided by the migration of the cantus firmus from tenor to contratenor in this passage. Presented as the lowest part in a three-voice texture, this migration is coupled with a change of pitch level, the cantus firmus now being stated a fourth below the pitch of the complete statements, beginning on *e* rather than *a*.

One further example of cantus firmus migration can be found in this setting, occurring in the middle of the second complete statement with the words 'Nunquam cessa, sed exora' ('Never cease, but beseech') over bars 164-8 (Example 2.14). Here, the cantus firmus migrates from tenor to bassus - again, the lowest voice in a reduced texture - although in this instance the cantus firmus is transposed not by a fourth but rather simply down an octave. This treatment serves as an anticipatory statement to the resumption of the tenor statement in bar 168. The use of an anticipatory statement in the bassus may be seen recurrently in continental compositions, exemplified by Busnois's second *Regina caeli laetare* setting (Br, fols 88v-89r)⁵⁷ and at points in the Gloria settings in Obrecht's *Missa De tous biens pleine* and *Missa Ave regina caelorum*.⁵⁸ This distinctive compositional treatment of the cantus firmus may be employed by Browne to enhance the sense of the text. The plea 'Never cease, but beseech' appears to be resolutely endorsed by the repetition of the words 'sed exora'. The underlay for the statement of the cantus firmus in the tenor, 'sed exora', is written in black ink in the manuscript while that for the surrounding voices is written in red ink. This is most likely a scribal error and it was viewed in this way by Harrison. However, its appearance shortly after an unusual anticipatory cantus firmus statement in the bassus suggests that a distinction between

⁵⁶In the *Salve regina* it is the first six notes of the chant associated with the words 'Venit d[omi]n[us] c[on]s[ol]ator' that are given as a partial statement.

⁵⁷Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck, I, 16-21.

⁵⁸Obrecht, *Werken*, V, 157-84 and III, 141-88 respectively.

soloists and chorus, as well as between reduced and full-voice texture, may have been implied in this instance.⁵⁹

EXAMPLE 2.14

The musical score for Example 2.14 is a choral setting with six staves. The first system (measures 15-20) shows a mix of solo and full-voice textures. The lyrics are: 'De - lu - et ei - tis - si - me. Nun - quam ces - sa -'. The second system (measures 21-25) continues the setting. The lyrics are: 'ex - p - na - tum, et - go -'. The score is marked with '15', '20', '21', '22', '23', '24', and '25' at the bottom of the staves. The music features a mix of solo and full-voice textures, indicated by red ink for solo parts and black ink for full-voice parts.

Whilst it would be tempting to view the imitative treatment of the words 'Audi preces servulorum' (bars 15-20) as an intentional emphasis of the text in the same way that

⁵⁹Employment of red ink for text underlay in E is normally thought to have indicated a passage for fewer voices by contrast to ones in black indicating full texture. In several compositions in E the text underlay in a part is written in one colour whilst the text of surrounding voices is written in a different colour. Although this happens once in Horwood's *Salve regina*, the phenomenon occurs with greater frequency in pieces by the later composers, including Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater*, *Stabat mater dolorosa* and second *Salve regina*, Davy's *Salve regina* and *Virgo templum Trinitatis* and Fawkyner's *Gaude virgo salutata*. All of these apparent inconsistencies may be explained as scribal errors. Nevertheless, Bowers notes that in references made to 'counterserve' c.1500 rendition by soloists may be implied: Bowers and Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century Polyphony', 167-8. Therefore, it is plausible that in certain sections of Browne's music particularly, the use of red ink may indicate solo rather than merely reduced voices.

EXAMPLE 2.15 (continued)

The seamless flow of the music - created in part by the avoidance of cadences at which all movement ceases - is never interrupted by the introduction of the cantus firmus. Almost invariably, the cantus firmus entries are disguised by beginning on weak beats in fully scored textures. In each of the two principal cadences the cantus firmus is present, providing the octave above the root of an imperfect cadence on *A* at the end of the first section and the fifth in the final perfect cadence on *d*. These observations would appear to confirm the proposition that in this setting, the cantus firmus fundamentally serves a structural purpose. Nevertheless, the unusual selection of the hymn as a cantus firmus in itself injects a novel dimension to the composition and the possible reasons for its selection therefore merit exploration.

STABAT VIRGO MATER CHRISTI à 6

The rhymed text *Stabat virgo mater Christi* is known only from the two settings by Browne preserved in E. As with *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* this text takes as its theme the subject of the Virgin's grief at the foot of the Cross. It is apparent that the text used in both of Browne's settings is missing a tenth tercet, the rhyme structure of which would pair with that of the ninth.⁶¹

Following Harrison's identification of the cantus firmus in the six-part setting as the antiphon *Exultat vir optimus* from the Office of St Thomas of Canterbury, Benham made

⁶¹Harrison notes that the third line of the ninth tercet 'credas iam humaniter' may have belonged originally to the missing tercet: MMB 12, 174.

the discovery of the source of a second cantus firmus which is stated simultaneously with *Exultat vir optimus*, the verse *Cadit custos* of the responsory *Iacet granum*, also from the Thomas Office (Example 2.16).⁶² Two other compositions in E include a double cantus firmus: Lambe's fragmentary *O regina caelestis gloriae* with two plainsongs for Epiphany, *Hodie in Iordane* and *Magi videntes stellam* and Davy's six-part *Gaude flore virginali* with the responsory *Virgo flagellatur* for the feast of St Katherine and a second melody that has not yet been identified. These settings in E are the first by English composers to employ a double cantus firmus. This new development in English cantus firmus techniques had continental parallels dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, in Dufay's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini - Beata es Maria* and Regis's *Missa Ecce ancilla Domini - Ne timeas Maria*; in addition, the use of a double cantus firmus was a recurrent feature of Obrecht's cantus firmus compositions, such as his *Missa Sub tuum praesidium*.⁶³ Sparks comments that the use of a double cantus firmus is particularly characteristic of compositions written for special Saints' feasts on the Continent.⁶⁴ This may well be true of Browne's *Stabat virgo mater Christi* and possibly also Davy's *Gaude flore virginali*.

EXAMPLE 2.16

Exultat vir optimus



Iacet granum V. Cadit custos



⁶²Benham, 'Prince Arthur', 467.

⁶³Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, III, 66; Regis, *Opera Omnia*, I, 25; Obrecht, *Opera Omnia*, Missae VI.

⁶⁴Sparks, *CFMM*, 278.

Exultat vir optimus and *Cadit custos* are both mode 5 chants; however, in *Stabat virgo mater Christi* Browne transposes *Cadit custos* down a fourth, preserving the B^b signature and making the last note of the verse c.⁶⁵ One conceivable explanation for the downwards transposition of the chant is that it avoids the notation of c's and d's that occur when the chant is notated at its original pitch in the two bassus parts which carry this cantus firmus. Although these notes are sometimes encountered in the bassus parts of other compositions by Browne they occur rarely and are normally of short durations, rather than the longer note-values expected in a structural cantus firmus statement.⁶⁶

Unfortunately, that portion of Browne's six-voice *Stabat virgo mater Christi* notated on fol. c5v is lost and, as a consequence, the music for the first seven tercets is missing from the triplex, contratenor and primus bassus parts. From the surviving music it is evident that Browne adopted the bipartite layout for his cantus firmi once again. The composition is divided into three sections, the first two in ϕ and the last in ϕ . Structural statements of the two cantus firmi are shared between the tenor, contratenor, primus and secundus bassus parts, the first two presenting *Exultat vir optimus* and the latter two, *Cadit custos*.

The first appearance of one of the cantus firmi is unusual because it does not occur in the tenor. It comprises an embellished presentation of the opening of *Exultat vir optimus*, notes 1 to 10, which is transposed down an octave in the secundus bassus from bars 26 to 30 (Example 2.17). The statement occurs with the beginning of the third tercet, 'Quantum tristis esset illa gens Hebraea' in the only part which is now extant (the medius and tenor are tacet in this passage). This may have served as an anticipatory statement to the first, now missing, structural statement which was probably heard in the fourth tercet shortly thereafter. The embellished presentation of the initial statement of the chant in a voice different from the tenor is novel.⁶⁷ Elsewhere in Browne's compositions such paraphrased anticipatory statements occur in a quasi-imitative fashion and usually include the tenor.⁶⁸

⁶⁵In the fragmentary *O regina caelestis gloriae* setting, Lambe combines the mode III responsory *Hode in Iordane* with the mode VIII antiphon *Magi videntes stellam* fitting the two together by using the complete antiphon ending on g and half the responsory, ending on d'. Another response to the problem of combining plainsongs in two different modes may be seen in Obrecht's *Missa Sub tuum praesidium* where the mode 5 antiphon *Regina caeli* is transposed up a fifth so that its final is c' instead of f when it is stated simultaneously with the mode 7 antiphon *Sub tuum praesidium*.

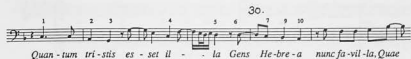
⁶⁶For example in the parts designated 'bassus' in his four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* and second *Salve regina* settings.

⁶⁷Browne's presentation of the chant in this fashion resembles that employed by Wylkynson at the beginning of his nine-voice *Salve regina* where an embellished statement of the chant is given in the medius (see Example 2.4 above).

⁶⁸See, for example, the openings of the *Stabat mater dolorosa* and four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* settings. A motif from the carol *From stormy windes* is treated imitatively between the medius and secundus contratenor (rather than the tenor) at the beginning of his *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting; however, the reference to the carol is considerably shorter than the cantus firmus statement discussed for the four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi*.

The new manner of approach taken in *Stabat virgo mater Christi* is further evidence that he exploits a diverse range of techniques when using a cantus firmus.

EXAMPLE 2.17



Structural statements of the openings of both chants were presumably present at the beginning of the first fully scored passage that seems to have occurred with the fourth tercet ('Pro te orat, pro te plorat') from bar 38. *Exulat vir optimus* is not quoted in the surviving tenor part, suggesting that it would have been stated in the contratenor, the voice that presents the cantus firmus in the final section. However, the opening of the chant cannot be fitted into the harmonic pattern provided by the surviving parts unless the *d*'s (notes 5 and 6) and *b*[♯] (note 9) in the chant are omitted.⁶⁹ A structural statement of *Cadit custos*, beginning from note 14 of the chant, is heard in the secundus bassus with the words 'Vos ambo dum fecerat' (from bar 47) midway through this fully scored passage. The now missing part of the first statement most likely appeared in the primus bassus, then migrating to the secundus bassus.⁷⁰

The two cantus firmi are presented simultaneously in the eighth tercet from the opening of the phrase 'Vide tute terrae motum' (bar 100, Example 2.18). In this passage the tenor presents the plainsong *Exulat vir optimus* from note 16 and the secundus bassus the verse *Cadit custos* from note 23. *Exulat vir optimus* appears initially in short note values in a manner very different from that of the long-note layout adopted, for example, for the *Pange lingua* melody in his *O regina mundi clara*.

⁶⁹Harrison stated that he was unable to incorporate the plainsong in the reconstructions of the missing parts. Benham proposed that the cantus firmus was probably omitted from the opening section of music as an expression of the opening words underlying the plainsong 'The excellent man is banished': *Latin Church Music*, 87.

⁷⁰Benham has offered an entirely plausible reconstruction of the primus bassus part that presents the opening of *Cadit custos* beginning from bar 39: Prince Arthur, 467.

T¹ *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum,*
 M *Vi - de - lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 C *Vi - de - lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 Contraltus *Vi - de - lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 T *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 V *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 Prima *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 Bannes *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*
 C¹ *ter - ra - de lu - te ter - rae mo - tum, Quod se pul - e - ral no -*

For the second half of the statement (from bar 229 with the words 'Da nos sequi quem portasti'), the cantus firmus *Exultat vir optimus* migrates from tenor to contratenor, whilst *Cadit custos* migrates from the primus to secundus bassus part. Unlike the cantus firmus migration from tenor to contratenor in *O regina mundi clara* in which the *Pange lingua* melody was transposed down a fourth from *a* to *e*, the pitch of both cantus firmi in *Stabat virgo mater Christi* remains the same for every statement. With the migration of *Exultat vir optimus* to the contratenor and the simultaneous presentation of *Cadit custos* in the secundus bassus in the final section, the tenor is left in the unusual position of not

carrying the cantus firmus. The only other instance of this treatment amongst Browne's compositions occurs in his four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* (see pp. 61-2 below).

A motif from *Exultat vir optimus* is imitated by several voices as a climactic effect in the final section of this composition (bars 234-9). Notes 41 to 49 associated with the word 'indigne' from the chant are stated by the primus bassus and are then taken up by the contratenor, medius and finally triplex in a setting of the words 'Mundum hunc redimere' from the text. Even here, the tenor is omitted from this imitative presentation of the cantus firmus, a compositional decision which is difficult to account for. The imitative treatment of a motif derived from the cantus firmus at the end of a composition is also a feature of Browne's four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* (see p. 62), both his *Salve regina* settings and the *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting; however, in each of these the tenor is included in the point of imitation. Moreover, in the first *Salve regina* and *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, the parts are contrasted by entries beginning a fifth apart: occurring on D and A in the first *Salve regina*, and D and G in *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*, whereas in the six-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* the entries all begin on F. The imitative treatment of a motif from the cantus firmus in the final climactic moments of a composition is characteristic of Browne's individual style. In his *Stabat mater dolorosa* setting, the imitative treatment of a motif from the cantus firmus is used to emphasize the rhetorical question that completes the first section (see Example 2.3 above), thus appearing in the middle rather than at the end of the composition. In *Stabat virgo mater Christi* the cantus firmus is abandoned altogether for the setting of 'Amen'.

Consideration of Browne's selection of two chants from the Thomas Office as the cantus firmi has so far yielded no apparent connections between the subjects of the chants and the set text *Stabat virgo mater Christi*. Although relationships between the texts may yet become evident, it is quite probable that in this composition Browne was primarily concerned with exploring the variety of techniques available for integrating not one but two cantus firmi.

STABAT VIRGO MATER CHRISTI à 4

Browne's four-part setting of *Stabat virgo mater Christi* incorporates the antiphon *Regali ex progenie* as the cantus firmus (Example 2.19). An antiphon sung at Lauds on the Nativity of the Virgin, *Regali ex progenie* is also used as the cantus firmus in a Mass and fragmentary setting of *Gaude flore virginali* by Fayrfax.⁷¹ Accounts show that the former was copied into partbooks at King's College, Cambridge in the year 1503-4.⁷² Browne's

⁷¹The appellation 'Regale' also connects a *Magnificat* setting by Fayrfax with the Mass and antiphon settings and is discussed in chapter 4, p. 165.

⁷²Harrison, *MMB*, 164.

Stabat virgo mater Christi must have been composed before c.1502-5, the probable compilation dates of E, suggesting the possibility that all the compositions on the *Regali ex progenie* antiphon may have been written within a few years of one another.

EXAMPLE 2.19

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
Re - ga - li ex pro - ge - ni - e Ma - ri - a ex or - ta

19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41
re - ful - get cu - lus pre - ci - bus nos ad iu - va - ri men - te

42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57
et spi - ri - tu de - vo - tis si - me po - sci - mus

The cantus firmus is transposed up a fifth from its normal notated pitch in chant books, from *f* to *c'* final in the part designated as the tenor in the edition. The presentation of the bipartite cantus firmus differs from that in the six-part setting in which each of the two statements was divided into two parts. Instead, the cantus firmus in the four-part setting is segmented into five parts in the first statement and three in the second part.

The cantus firmus is incorporated as a point of imitation at the beginning of his four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* between the upper three voices (Example 2.20), the initial melody of the upper voice being a variation of the chant's opening. The imitative treatment of the cantus firmus in the opening of a work is also a feature of his *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* settings although in these, only two parts, the tenor and one other voice is involved, whereas in *Stabat virgo mater Christi* three voices are included in the imitative presentation. The first eleven notes of the chant associated with the words 'Regali ex progenie Maria' are heard with the opening words of the set text, 'Stabat virgo mater Christi, iuxta crucem' connecting the ideas of the king who is descended of Mary is also Christ for whom she stands weeping at the foot of the cross.

EXAMPLE 2.20

MEAN 1
Sta - ba - vir - go, Ma - ter Chri - sti, iux - ta

MEAN 2
Sta - ba - vir - go, Ma - ter Chri - sti, iux - ta

TENOR
Sta - ba - vir - go, Ma - ter Chri - sti, iux - ta

BASS
Sta - ba - vir - go, Ma - ter Chri - sti, iux - ta

Whilst the second complete statement in *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* is given entirely in the tenor (apart from the brief imitative passage discussed below), the presentation of the first statement is divided between the tenor and bassus. After the initial appearance of the cantus firmus in the tenor it migrates to the bassus in bars 16-18 with the words 'dum sophia'. The tenor is omitted from the texture and the chant is transposed down an octave. The cantus firmus is resumed in the tenor in the four-part setting of 'pro te plorat, is decorat' (bars 41-5). However, it migrates once again to the bassus with the words 'Vos ambo dum [fecerat]' (bars 45-6) this time reverting to the original chant pitch (that is, it is transposed down a fifth). As with the previous migration, the tenor is dropped from the texture, entering afterwards a fifth higher in imitation of the bassus (bar 47) in a manner reminiscent of the imitation between bassus and tenor with the words 'Nunquam cessa sed exora' in *O regina mundi clara* (see p. 51 above).

An extra partial statement, notes 1 to 22 of the cantus firmus, corresponding to the words 'Regali ex progenie Maria ex orta refulget' is given in the bassus (bars 64-73, Example 2.21) prior to the presentation of the last segment of the chant. Coupled with this migration, the cantus firmus is transposed down a fifth so that it is stated at the original chant pitch. The introduction of a partial statement taken from the beginning of the chant is found also in his *O regina mundi clara* setting. As well, in both this and the four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* setting the partial statements occur in the lowest voice of the texture and the cantus firmus is presented in a relatively unembellished fashion. There are two features of the presentation of the partial statement in the *Stabat virgo mater Christi* setting which may be considered as unusual. The migration to the bassus happens in a full four-voice texture, that is, when the tenor is present, a phenomenon that is seen rarely. Indeed, the only other instance of the cantus firmus being placed in a part other than the tenor in a fully scored passage occurs in the six-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi*. In the latter this happens with the final two lines of the text, 'Da nos sequi quem portasti, mundum hunc redimere' whereas, in the four-part setting it occurs with the words 'Quantas poenas patiaris, comprende iam animo. Vide solem obscuratum,' from the sixth and beginning of the seventh tercets. The other unusual aspect of the partial statement is that it is placed amid segments of the first complete tenor statement rather than appearing between the two complete statements as happens in *O regina mundi clara* and the first *Salve regina* setting.

EXAMPLE 2.21

The musical score for Example 2.21 is a multi-staff composition. It includes four vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a Chorus. The lyrics are in Latin. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-4) features a complex rhythmic pattern in the Soprano and Alto parts, with the Tenor and Bass parts providing a more stable harmonic foundation. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the vocal lines, with the Chorus entering in measure 5. The third system (measures 9-12) shows the vocal parts interacting with the Chorus, with the Soprano and Alto parts featuring more complex rhythmic patterns. The score is written in a style that suggests a 16th-century setting, with a focus on the cantus firmus technique.

In the final section, a short motif from the cantus firmus (notes 35-9) is imitated by the second medius in bar 175 in a manner reminiscent of the more extensive treatment of a motif from the cantus firmus at the end of Browne's *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem*.

It is possible that a small portion of the cantus firmus - notes 34 to 41, associated with the words from the chant 'adiuvare mente' - is heard in retrograde in the tenor alongside the words from the *Stabat virgo mater Christi* text 'O, pallorem cum vidisti' (bars 132-4, Example 2.22). This is a most unusual technique for an Eton composer to adopt; however, in this passage such a presentation appears to act as an anticipatory statement to the second structural statement which begins in bar 137.

EXAMPLE 2.22

The musical score for Example 2.22 is a four-part setting of a Latin text. It consists of three systems of staves, each with four parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The lyrics are in Latin, and the music is written in a style typical of the late 16th or early 17th century. Measure numbers 120, 128, and 140 are indicated at the beginning of the first, second, and third systems respectively. The lyrics include: "O, pal-lo rem cum vi-di", "Tu Ma-ri-a, vol-to Chri-", "E do-lo-re", "Ma-ri-a, vol-to Chri-", and "U-".

Browne demonstrates his ingenuity and experimentation with a variety of cantus firmus techniques in the four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi*. Migration with, or without transposition of the chant, imitation involving the cantus firmus, the possible introduction of a retrograde statement of the cantus firmus, the placement of the cantus firmus in a voice other than the tenor in a fully scored passage, the insertion of a partial statement taken from the beginning of the chant mid presentation of a complete statement all point to the diversity of approaches taken by Browne when incorporating a cantus firmus. It is apparent that Browne adopts a more flexible approach to the selection and presentation of melodies as his cantus firmi than is seen amongst many of his English contemporaries. Therefore, it is not inconceivable that similar adaptation of the chosen source is the reason that identification of the cantus firmus in his *O Maria salvatoris mater* has remained problematic for so long. In the following section a proposal for the source of this cantus firmus will be advanced.

O MARIA SALVATORIS MATER

Pride of place as the first composition in E is granted to Browne's eight-voice *O Maria salvatoris mater*. Unlike many of the texts used by Browne in E that concern the grief of the Virgin Mary, drawing on the 'Stabat mater' theme, *O Maria salvatoris mater* is, to a degree, celebratory in nature. E is the only known source for the rhymed text *O Maria salvatoris mater*. The coat of arms of Eton College appears in the initial of the quadruplex on fol. a1^v.⁷³

O Maria salvatoris
Mater, fragrans flos pudoris,
Superans nascentia.
Parit illa mater fructum,
Qui iam nostrum tulit luctum
Cunctaque peccamina.

Parit Christum virgo manens;
Quisnam negat? Numquid parens
Virga Aaron legitur
Prondes, flores produxisse;
Deum ita potuisse
Filium asseritur.
Ex hac matre sic intacta
Gignit eum, quo est facta
Cunctaque viventia.
Illam ergo recolamus,
Cuius fructum sic amamus
Colant et caelestia.

Quisnam vivit hoc in mundo,
Cum sit captus iniucundo
Morbo vel tristitia,
Quin, si oret istam matrem,
Intercedat ut ad Patrem
Caelesti in patria.

O Mary, mother of our Saviour,
fragrant flower of chastity,
surpassing all the children of men.
That mother brings forth a fruit,
who now has taken away our sorrow
and all our sins.

She bears the Christ while yet a virgin;
Who can deny it? Do we not read that
once the staff of Aaron
brought forth branches and flowers?
So do we declare that God was able
to bring forth a Son.
From this mother thus untouched
He begot Him by whom all living
things were made.
And so we celebrate her
whose offspring is so beloved to us;
the heavens also do her honour.

For who is there living in this world
for whom, when in the unhappy grip
of sickness or of sorrow
if he but pray to this Mother,
does she not intercede with the Father
in the heavenly home?

⁷³In the cadel 'O' of the tenor part a woman's face is drawn in brown ink whilst in the primus bassus part there is a man's face. The words 'Maria mater gracie' are inscribed in the medius.

Exstat mater tum parata,	We have a mother so ready
Nos iuvare: en! quam grata	to give us aid; see how the gracious
Adest semper Maria.	Mary ever attends us.
Rogamus et Frideswidam,	Also we are asking Frideswide,
Magdalenam, Katerinam,	Magdalene and Katherine,
Doctam philosophia,	learned in philosophy,
Theologia disputans,	Since Katherine does exist,
Gentes[que] cunctas superans, ⁷⁴	debating in theology,
Cum sit haec Katerina.	and surpassing all humanity.
His iam sanctis iubilemus,	Let us now rejoice in these saints
Voce, corde decantemus,	and let us sing with heart and voice
Hac nostra melodia.	in this our melody.

The text focuses on the Virgin as healer and comforter. Following the ninth tercet, the text digresses from the subject of the Virgin Mary to invoke the support of saints Frideswide, Mary Magdalene and Katherine. In the introduction to this chapter it was mentioned that the reference to St Frideswide connects the text with Oxford. The widespread cult of St Katherine in England in the second half of the fifteenth century is testified by her iconographical representations in churches and chapels surviving particularly in Devon and East Anglia.⁷⁵ As patron saint of philosophers, students and learning, her invocation would be particularly fitting in a composition chosen specifically for inclusion in E. Recurrent allusions to offspring in the text - 'superans nascentia', 'parit illa mater fructum', 'cuius fructum sic amamus' - may also be appropriate for a collegiate foundation with an important grammar school attached.

The last three tercets, ending with one that calls for 'rejoicing and singing with all these saints', may have appealed particularly to E's compiler because the text mirrors the subjects of the Eton frescoes which decorate the College Chapel. Commissioned in the 1480s, the panels depict a series of legends involving the Virgin, highlighting her nature as intercessor and her ability to act as confessor and healer.⁷⁶ Forming a double row of paintings on either side of the Chapel, each panel is separated by the figure of a saint, with nine female saints adorning the lower rows of each side. St Katherine features prominently in this sequence of saints as she is the first figure on the eastern end of the frescoes on the

⁷⁴This line is short by a syllable; however, it appears as such in the source.

⁷⁵Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 171.

⁷⁶The paintings were commenced in 1479 or 1480 and completed in 1487-8 according to contemporary accounts in the audit rolls: Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, 411-12, quoted in James, *The Frescoes in the Chapel at Eton College*, 1.

south side.⁷⁷ The subject of the Assumption is depicted in the first panel (the eastern end) of the upper row of the frescoes. The Virgin Mary in this picture is surrounded by five angels, and the panel bears the inscription: 'Gaudet Angeli letantur archangeli'. The figure of Gabriel stands next to this panel, and thus symmetrically with the figure of the Virgin that most probably stood at the eastern end of the northern-side fresco. If Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* was indeed chosen especially to be placed as the first composition in E, then the references to rejoicing with all these saints could not have been more singularly appropriate.

THE CANTUS FIRMUS

The cantus firmus in *O Maria salvatoris mater* has previously eluded identification, although its melodic construction has the appearance of a plainsong melody. There are two complete statements of the structural cantus firmus - one each in triple and duple mensuration - and also a partial statement from the beginning of the cantus firmus in the introductory section. This introductory statement commences on *c'*, whereas the two complete statements are transposed down a fifth on to *f*. In the latter, the melody has a range of a ninth from *d* to *c'* with *f* as its final; however, a search amongst Gevaert's thèmes produces one that only barely resembles Browne's cantus firmus in the opening phrase.⁷⁸ Benham suggested that it was possibly not a plainsong melody although he was unable to offer any theories for its derivation.⁷⁹

In the preceding discussions of Browne's selection and treatment of a cantus firmus, attention has been drawn to his employment of techniques that have few English antecedents. These include the introduction of a melody from a vernacular source, transposition of the cantus firmus mid-statement, the use of incomplete structural statements, anticipatory statements in a voice other than the tenor and the employment of the cantus firmus in a point of imitation. In *O Maria salvatoris mater* another unusual technique is exploited, namely the re-arrangement of phrases of the pre-existent melody in a contrived manner.

The present writer has now discovered that Browne's cantus firmus is fundamentally *Venit dilectus meus*, an Office antiphon proper to the feast of the

⁷⁷ The corresponding figure on the north side is now missing although James is confident that it was that of the Virgin Mary. He also states that it is probable that the figure of Mary Magdalene would have constituted the now lost fifth figure in the lower row series of the south side (as in the parallel frescoes in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral): *The Frescoes in the Chapel at Eton College*, 3.

⁷⁸ Gevaert, *La Mélodie Antique*, Thème 13.

⁷⁹ Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 84.

Assumption and a plainsong that Browne also uses as a cantus firmus in his second *Salve regina* setting in E (Example 2.23).⁸⁰

EXAMPLE 2.23



This is one of the chants that belonged to the sixth mode transposed up a fifth according to 'variations in acutas constitutas' noted in the *Sarum Tonale*.⁸¹ However, apart from the introductory cantus firmus statement in the first section, the plainsong is presented in the two complete structural statements down a fifth from its notated pitch in *Sarum antiphonals* so that its final is *f* instead of *c*.⁸² The most striking feature of Browne's cantus firmus is that in these structural statements the opening phrase of *Venit dilectus meus* is omitted, the cantus firmus apparently taking up note 7 from the antiphon as its second note (Example 2.24 overleaf).

In keeping with the practice observed in Browne's treatment of a pre-existent melody in several other compositions in E, he tends to omit those notes that are repeated when laying out his cantus firmus. This means that in the succession of notes used as the cantus firmus in the first section of *O Maria salvatoris mater* only note 14 from the plainsong is noticeable for its absence; other than this, notes 7 to 20 from the antiphon are used without deviating from its melody.

⁸⁰Special provision was made for the granting of plenary indulgences in the Eton College Chapel on the feast of the Assumption: Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 557. Harrison comments that 'High Mass was celebrated by the provost, and the whole college was present in surplices': Harrison, 'Background', 157. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a work of this magnitude which uses an antiphon proper to the feast of Assumption as its cantus firmus appearing as the first composition in E.

⁸¹Harrison, *MMB*, 324, n. 2, *Use of Sarum II*, xl-xli.

⁸²*Venit dilectus meus* is also transposed down a fifth when used as a cantus firmus in the tenor in the surviving movements from Cuk's Mass on this antiphon, *GB-Yi Mus 1*, fols 16^v-20^r.

EXAMPLE 2.24

The musical score for Example 2.24 consists of two staves. The top staff is a cantus firmus line, and the bottom staff is a vocal line. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the vocal staff. The score is divided into measures, with measure numbers indicated above the cantus firmus line and below the vocal staff. The lyrics are as follows:

O Ma - ri - a

Cun - cta - que pec - ca - mi - na. Pa - - ri -

Chi - stum (vir - go ma - - nens.)

Il - lam re - co - la - mus; cae - le - sti - a.

Ad - est sem - per Ma - ri - a. His iam san - ctis

is - bi - le - mus Vo - ce, cor - de de - can - ta - mus

Hac - no - stra me - lo - di - a.

The first complete statement of the cantus firmus is divided into segments over bars 48 to 113 in a passage that is scored for seven voices instead of the full texture (Example 2.25).⁸³ The proposition that *Venit dilectus meus* is the cantus firmus in this composition is verified by the quotation of the opening eleven notes of the antiphon in a paraphrased statement in the quatruxplex simultaneously with the beginning of the first complete statement of the cantus firmus.⁸⁴ The elaborated version of *Venit dilectus meus* is not presented here at the transposed pitch employed in the structural tenor but rather starts on c" instead, that is an octave higher than its notated pitch in chant books.

EXAMPLE 2.25

The musical score for Example 2.25 consists of seven staves. The top staff is the cantus firmus, and the other six staves represent vocal parts. The score is divided into segments labeled 1 through 11. The lyrics are: 'Cen - sto - que pri - us - mi - us -'. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

⁸³The first structural statements of the cantus firmus in both Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* (bar 45) and Davy's *In honore summae matris* (bar 39) also commence in textures that are missing one voice from the fully scored texture.

⁸⁴There appears to be one other example of a paraphrased statement of the cantus firmus in the highest voice being stated simultaneously with the first structural statement in an E composition: Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* (see Ex. 2.33 below).

In this first complete statement, Browne retains the order of notes of the original melody until bars 62-3 when notes 27 to 29 are possibly stated in retrograde. At this point, text underlay for the tenor is omitted and as the cantus firmus continues it finally presents the opening of *Veni dilectus meus* (bars 64-70, Example 2.26).⁸⁵

EXAMPLE 2.26

The image displays two systems of a musical score. The first system (bars 48-58) features a cantus firmus (C) and vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The text underlay includes: "ma . nens; Quia . nam ne . gal? Num . quid . pa . ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur", "ne . gal? Num . quid . pa . ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur", "ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur", "Quia . nam ne . gal? Num . quid . pa . ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur", "Qui . stem . vir . ge .", "ma . nens; Quia . nam ne . gal? Num . quid . pa . ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur", and "Quia . nam ne . gal? Num . quid . pa . ren . Vir . ga . Aa . ren . le . gi . tur". The second system (bars 59-70) continues the cantus firmus and vocal parts. The text underlay includes: "Fru . des, flo . res . gra . du . sis .", "pro . du . sis .", "le . gi . tur Fru . des, pro . du . sis .", "Fru . des, flo . res . gra . du . sis .", "ma . nens .", "Fru . des, flo . res . gra . du . sis .", "Fru . des, flo . res . gra . du . sis .", and "Fru . des, flo . res . gra . du . sis .".

⁸⁵The omission of text underlay is exceptional; however, Browne also uses this in his *O regina mundi clara* where the abandonment of text underlay for the cantus firmus coincides with the words from the *O regina mundi clara* text 'Solvas oro, compeditos, laxa malis expeditos'.

The cantus firmus continues with the plainsong, ending the cantus firmus statement with the final notes of the antiphon. The second structural statement differs in some respects from the appearance of the first and this is also true of Browne's treatment of the bipartite cantus firmus in *O regina mundi clara*. Most noteworthy is the exclusion of the mid-statement presentation of the opening of *Veni dilectus meus* and the re-arrangement of the order of notes in the final section. In Browne's second *Salve regina* the order of notes in the final phrase of *Veni dilectus meus* is also altered (although not in the same way) suggesting possibly an acquaintance with a variation of the melody not present in the published Sarum Antiphonal.⁸⁶ As a result of this 're-organization' of the final phrase from the plainsong, the cantus firmus concludes in a similar way as it opens, as can be seen in Example 2.27 where the introductory cantus firmus and final statements are compared.

EXAMPLE 2.27



The final phrase in the cantus firmus begins with the word 'melodia' (bar 225) from the last line 'Hac nostra melodia', ('in this our melody'). This offers an alternative explanation for the deviation from the Sarum Antiphonal of 1519-20. Browne may have intentionally re-modelled the end of the chant: its appearance alongside the words 'Hac nostra melodia' then reads as a veiled reference to the fact that he has altered the appearance of the plainsong in order to fit his ideas of balance and symmetry.

An elaborated cantus firmus statement not only appears with the first structural cantus firmus statement but also occurs in the quatrux towards the end of the final section (bars 210-14, Example 2.28) simultaneously with the tenor cantus firmus and once again, transposed up an octave from the notated chant pitch.

⁸⁶Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xcii^v.

EXAMPLE 2.28

A possible retrograde presentation of the cantus firmus may be perceived in the quadruplex in bars 36-8 with the statement of notes 1 to 6 associated with the opening phrase from the antiphon, 'Venit dilectus' (Example 2.29). If this is so, then it would represent the first statement of the notes from the cantus firmus which were omitted from the introductory section. The retrograde statement is heard with the words from the set text 'Parit illa mater fructum' ('That mother brings forth a fruit') implying a connection with the opening words of the chant, 'Come [my] beloved'.

EXAMPLE 2.29

The highest number of references to *Venit dilectus meus* in an embellished form occur with the stanza concerning the learned St Katherine (Example 2.30).⁸⁷ Here, Browne was conceivably making an intentional parallel between the more complex musical procedures used in the conception of the cantus firmus in this piece and the saint who argued with the pagan philosophers. Notes 11 to 20 from the antiphon are presented at the beginning of the line 'Katerinam Doctam philosophiam' (bars 183-7) in the quatruxplex, the melody migrating to the second voice in the duo, and to the secundus bassus at the end of the phrase. Notes 22 to 26 are then heard in the medius (bars 189-91) simultaneously with the opening of *Venit dilectus meus* in the secundus contratenor (bars 189-92), with a further allusion in a more paraphrased version in bars 192-4.

⁸⁷References to St Katherine made in this thesis adopt the spelling with initial letter 'K', that employed in E; however, Harrison opts for the alternative spelling, 'Catherine' in the *Musica Britannica* edition from which these musical examples are taken.

EXAMPLE 2.30

salvatoris mater is juxtaposed to the chant phrase associated with 'fructum' (notes 28 to 31) in bars 103-6. The second structural statement of the cantus firmus begins with the presentation of a short segment from the opening of the cantus firmus (bars 170-5) associated partly with the words '[dile]ctus me[us]' ('my beloved'). This cantus firmus phrase coincides with words from *O Maria salvatoris mater* that are used to complete a formal section in the music, 'Adest semper Maria' ('Mary ever attends to us').

Similarly, such parallels between the *Venit dilectus meus* and set texts may be observed in Browne's *Salve regina*. Again, analogies may be drawn between the *Salve regina* and *Venit dilectus meus* texts with references to 'fructum' occurring in each. In setting the portion of the *Salve regina* text 'benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende' ('the blessed fruit of thy womb, reveal to us after this our exile'), Browne places the notes of the cantus firmus associated with the words of the chant 'comedat fructum pomorum suorum' connecting ideas expressed in each text.⁸⁸

In this *Salve regina* Browne apparently sets the words 'Virgo' and 'Maria' from the text alongside the cantus firmus notes associated with the words from the chant 'in ortum suum' on three occasions (Example 2.31).

EXAMPLE 2.31



Brownie: *Salve regina* II

bars 122-4



bars 130-1



⁸⁸Musical response to this part of the *Salve regina* text in several settings in E is explored further in chapter 3.

EXAMPLE 2.31 (continued)

bars 213-24

The musical score for Example 2.31 (continued) covers bars 213-24. It is written for five voices: Treble (Tr.), Alto (M.), Tenor (T.), Contralto (C.), and Bass (B.). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are 'O dul - cis Ma - ri - a sal - va - toris ma - ter'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'ff' and 'fz'. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing on multiple staves.

A comparison with the partial statement of the cantus firmus in the introduction of *O Maria salvatoris mater* reveals that here Browne presents note 7 to 20 from the chant, associated

with the words '[dile]ctus meus in ortum suum', together with the words from the set text 'O Maria' thus setting the same ideas in parallel as found in the *Salve regina* setting.⁸⁹

In company with Browne's other compositions in E, *O Maria salvatoris mater* is divided into formal sections in accordance with the sense of the text rather than by strict adherence to the stanzaic structure of the rhymed text. Nevertheless, line-by-line articulation by way of cadential progressions is fairly normal, although rarely does this cause a complete cessation of all musical movement. There are five main sections in the composition, each separated by a vertical stroke through all parts and a musical cadence. These serve to make distinctions between various ideas within the *O Maria salvatoris mater* text. The first occurs after the opening words, 'O Maria', referring to the figure who is the principal subject of the text. The second section follows 'Colant et caelestia' at the end of the sixth tercet, separating the idea of celebrating the Virgin Mary from comments about her role as healer and comforter of the ill in the third section.

The seventh and eighth tercets turn from standard phrases praising the Virgin, to an apparently personal plea for intercession on behalf of someone who is ill, perhaps dangerously so. Once again, Browne's feel for the dramatic moments within the text is particularly evident in the exclamation 'En!' ('See') at the end of the third section in the middle of the ninth tercet, notated in the manuscript by way of a large maxima. There is a sudden expansion from three voices to a full eight-voice texture, with 'En' set as a fermata-held chord. The new section reverts to a reduced texture for 'quam grata' with the two upper voices forming a duet in which the quatruxplex alludes initially to the opening of *Venit dilectus meus* (bars 166-7).

As with the first section which ends with the name 'Maria', the fourth concludes with the words 'Adest semper Maria', re-emphasizing the centrality of the Virgin in this text. In the last section, the text introduces a new idea, the invocation of saints Frideswide, Mary Magdalene and Katherine. As an exclusively Oxford saint, the reference to Frideswide places the inspiration for the text firmly within the bounds of this County. Veneration of the two other female saints named is so widespread in England at this time, that it is impossible to tender a more specific origin for the text at present. It would be tempting to propose that the relatively lengthy digression praising St Katherine, implies an academic orbit for the text; however, this remains purely conjectural.

The final tercet, 'His iam sanctis iubilemus, Voce, corde decantemus, Hac nostra melodia', suggests that the text was deliberately written with a musical setting in mind;

⁸⁹The partial cantus firmus statement in the *Salve regina* occurs between the two complete statements as in his *O regina mundi clara*. The opening notes of the chant, 1-6, associated with the words 'Venit dilectus' are stated together with 'O clemens' from the *Salve regina* text. Interestingly, it is these precise notes that are omitted from the structural statements of the cantus firmus in *O Maria salvatoris mater* although the reason for the omission is not yet apparent.

possibly the illness of an important personage necessitating the hasty composition of text and music as a plea to the Virgin and pertinent saints for recovery.⁹⁰ As discussed earlier, Browne's deviation from the chant as the cantus firmus at this point seems to imply a creative response to this part of the text.

Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* is one of the glories of E. The discovery of the identity of the cantus firmus in the present study has illuminated to an even greater extent the depth of Browne's imaginative and creative qualities. Examination of the techniques employed in the presentation of this cantus firmus also provides further evidence that Browne was using techniques of cantus firmus manipulation not witnessed previously in England.

The manner in which Browne joins ideas present within both unheard cantus firmus and set texts is one that is not unique. In preceding generations of composers, interrelationships between texts may also exist. This will be explored in the following examination of *O Maria et Elizabeth*, a composition by one of the earliest composers represented in E: Gilbert Banester (c.1425/30-87).

DISCURSUS: BANESTER'S *O MARIA ET ELIZABETH*

E is the only known source for the prose text *O Maria et Elizabeth*. As Banester wrote the first English version of a narrative poem based on Boccaccio's *Guiscardo e Sismunda* (c.1450) and a poem entitled *Miracle of St Thomas* (1467), he was conceivably responsible for its authorship.⁹¹ The cantus firmus in *O Maria et Elizabeth* has eluded identification until the present study. The significance of the interrelationships between the set text and that of the cantus firmus can now be assessed as a result of this discovery.

Flood suggested that the impulse for the composition of *O Maria et Elizabeth* was the marriage between Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in 1485.⁹² In view of the many references to the motherhood of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth in the text, Harrison's proposition that it was written in celebration of Elizabeth's pregnancy with Arthur, the future Prince of Wales, in 1486 is more plausible.⁹³ The historiated initial 'O' in the

⁹⁰Such prayers at times of sickness or death were common at the end of the fifteenth century. In his will of 1507, John Estbury of Berkshire includes the following invocation to Mary and the saints:

...I beseeche our blessed lady seynt Mary wt the speciall helpe of all the holy company of heven and of my advowes Peter and Pawle, seynt Frideswide, seynt barabara, seynt brigett, seynt Kateryne, & King Henry if he be soo at our Lorde accepted, to be mediators for my soule, and all my friends here in yerthe to pray for me.

Quoted in Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 327.

⁹¹*Guiscardo e Sismunda* is printed in *Early English Version of the Tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda*, ed. H. Wright, 2-37.

⁹²Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, 15.

⁹³MB 11, xiii.

medius part depicts two young babies forming the 'O' by linking hands and feet, thus illustrating the two children described in the text:

O Maria et Elizabeth

O fecunde cognatae, omnium matres matrum felices, ex quibus Deus novum commercium prolis educandi natura mirante specialiter operatus est.

Tu, Maria, velut rubus Moysi, igne haud concupiscentiae combusta eundem filium et non alium quem pater ab aeterno genuit, Ihesum, ex tempore mater et virgo peperisti.

Et tu, Elizabeth, ut arida virga Aaron miro ordine florida cunctis sanctiorem prophetis procreasti sterilis Iohannem.

Sic ambarum, ubera de caelo plena, sed Maria superplena, de cuius plenitudine daemones conculcantur, homines salvantur, angeli reintegrantur; et quicquid partus Elizabeth boni habet ex donis gratiae filii Marie est.

O viscera caeli rore onusta (*sic*) quarum obsequiis devote salutando humilitatis invicem praestitis Evae peccamina veteris abolita, praeconia Trinitatis audita, et nostrae redemptionis primordia declarantur, ac obtrusis ventre creatorem servus regem salvatorem cognovit et more tripudii mutuo filii congaudebant.

Matres quidam gratam societatem, floridum aspectum, ac colloquia caelica cum dulcibus ad invicem oculis ad libitum habuerunt.

Suscipe igitur piissima mater has preces nostras, et ad solium defer filii tui ubi iuxta se te ipsam posuit, nam nefas est alibi te esse quam ubi est id quod a te genitum est.

Protege, quesumus tibi devotum athletam, regem nostrum N(omine), gratiam dans huberem qua clemens cum iustitia diu regnet.

Da virtutem illi in armis triumphantem hostesque rabidos iugo premat iusto et prosperitatem nobis confirmet.

Et post felices grandaevi (*sic*) patris annos, succedant liberi regno in paterno et avito virtute antiquos exsuperantes celebratos, ac ecclesiam et regnum et fidem et pacem habeat, populos amore timeat Deum, regem et legem, et nobis peccatoribus det veniam et gratiam immortalis Deus tuus gloriosus filius. Amen.

O Mary and Elizabeth,

O fertile kinswomen, happy mothers of all mothers, from whom God especially put into effect a new communication for the upbringing of His offspring, to the amazement of nature.

You, Mary, like the bush of Moses, not burnt by the fire of desire, bore, in time, a mother and virgin, Jesus, the same Son and no other whom the Father begat in eternity.

And you, Elizabeth, like the arid rod of Aaron flowering by a wondrous dispensation.

You, sterile, gave birth to John, holier than all the prophets. In this way, the wombs of both are full from heaven and Mary is full, by whose fullness demons are crushed underfoot, humans are saved, angels are renewed, and whatever good Elizabeth's offspring has is from the gifts of grace of the Son of Mary.

O wombs pregnant with the dew of heaven, of you who present them to one another, greeting each other devotedly with the service of humility.

They declare that the sins of the old Eve have been abolished, the proclamations of the Trinity have been heard, and declare too the beginnings of our redemption.

And in the womb thrust forward the servant knew his creator, his King, his Saviour and in the form of a mutual dance the sons rejoiced together.

The mothers indeed had pleasant society, eloquent appearances, and heavenly conversation with sweet mutual kisses - as much as they wished.

Therefore, kindest mother, take up these prayers of ours and bring them to the throne of your Son, where he put you next to him.

For it would be unthinkable for you to be anywhere other than where that which you bore is.

Protect, we beg you, that faithful champion of God's, our king, N, giving him plentiful grace by which he will reign, mercifully and with justice, for a long time.

Give him triumphant strength in arms, and let him subdue his enemies with a just yoke, and strengthen our prosperity.

And, after the happy years of the long-lived father, let his children succeed in their father's and grandfather's kingdom, outdoing their celebrated ancestors in virtue.

And may the people have church and kingdom and faith and peace, and may the people in love, fear their God, king and law, and may immortal God, your glorious Son give pardon and grace to us sinners. Amen.

In the text allusion is made to a particular king in a prayer for intercession on behalf of king, Church and people that is included from the beginning of section IV (bar 164). Banester is named as 'the king's servant' in 1471 and surfaces in court records as a

gentleman of the Chapel Royal from 1474.⁹⁴ He was appointed Master of Choristers in 1478, retaining the post until his death in 1487.

The cantus firmus in *O Maria et Elizabeth* has now been identified as *Regnum mundi*, a responsory sung on feasts of Virgins (Example 2.32).⁹⁵ One of the earliest English sources for *Regnum mundi* is the thirteenth-century Worcester Antiphonal and it is commonly included in English processions dating from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.⁹⁶

EXAMPLE 2.32

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21
Reg-num mun-di et om-nem

22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42
or-na-tum sae-cu-li con-temp-si prop-ter

43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63
a-mo-rem Do-mi-ni me-i Ihe-sum Chri-sti.

64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85
Quem vi-di, quem a-ma-vi, in

86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99
quem cre-di-di, quem di-le-xi.

Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi propter amorem Domini mei Ihesum Christi, quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.

I have scorned the kingdom of the world and every pomp of the world for the love of God my Jesus Christ, whom I have seen, whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, whom I adore.

⁹⁴Charles states that Banester was granted corrodies at the abbeys of Abingdon and Crowland in 1471: 'The Date and Provenance of the Pepys MS 1236', 63; Banester's position in the Chapel Royal is also noted by Harrison: MB 11, xiii.

⁹⁵GB-Ob Misc. Liturg. 6, fol. 156^r; Brev 2, 447. Benham may have been led to believe that the cantus firmus is *Benedicam te Domine* because it has the same opening gesture as the isorhythmic tenor in Typp's *Credo in OH* (fols 74^v-75^r, CMM 46, no. 87) which includes the text incipit *Benedicam te Domine*: Latin Church Music, 76. However, after the initial notes, the tenor of Typp's *Credo* bears only a passing resemblance to *Benedicam te Domine* and the editors describe the cantus firmus as a variation of the chant: CMM 46, III, 33.

⁹⁶GB-Wo F. 160: PalMus 12, 432-3. Examples of *Regnum mundi* occurring in Sarum processions include GB-Ob Misc. lit. 408, fol. 148^r (s.xiv²) and GB-Ob Bodl. 637, fol. 162^r (s.xv^{1/2}).

The earliest example of the use of *Regnum mundi* as a cantus firmus in an English polyphonic composition may be the three-part setting of its verse *Eructavit cor meum* and Doxology, preserved in fifteenth-century leaves bound into the early fourteenth-century Peterborough Psalter, *GB-Ob* Barlow 22, fols [iv]-[iii^r]. In this setting, which is notated in score and composed in descant style, the plainsong is quoted in the middle voice. A paired Sanctus and Agnus Dei setting in the Trent Codices also adopt *Regnum mundi* as well as its verse, *Eructavit cor meum*, as the cantus firmus.⁹⁷ The Agnus Dei is ascribed to Driffelde who, on stylistic grounds (as well as his name), is considered to be English, whilst the Sanctus is anonymous, although the repetition of music from the Agnus Dei in the Sanctus points to the same authorship.⁹⁸

The selection of *Regnum mundi* as the cantus firmus is highly appropriate to a setting of *O Maria et Elizabeth* as this latter text makes frequent references to 'ruler' and 'king', references mirrored therefore, in the unheard responsory text with its allusion to the 'kingdom of the world'. Evidently, Banester intended a subtle interrelationship between heard and unheard texts. The prayer to God for protection of the king in *O Maria et Elizabeth* is underlined by the phrase associated with the words 'Regnum mundi' from the responsory that is heard repeatedly in this section. However, the words 'Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum saeculi contempsi' ('I have scorned the kingdom of the world and every pomp of the world') have a negative connotation in the responsory text, manifestly implying the supremacy of Christ over the worldly kingdom. The employment of this chant as the cantus firmus may be interpreted as a statement that worship of Christ was not dependent on worldly ornaments.

The disposition of the cantus firmus is outlined in Table 2.2 (overleaf) with the principal structural statements printed in bold type.

⁹⁷The Sanctus is preserved in **Tr87**, fols 199^v-203^v and **Tr90**, no. 973, whilst the Agnus Dei is found in **Tr92**, no. 1552.

⁹⁸Wright comments that it is likely that Driffelde was English because this Agnus Dei is included in the seventeenth gathering of **Tr92** which comprises compositions largely by English composers, including Dunstable, Benet, Forest and Soursby: 'The Compilation of Trent 87₁ and Trent 92₂', 256. A later English Mass on *Regnum mundi* is that by Ludford preserved in the Peterhouse Partbooks.

Cantus firmus Techniques in the Compositions of John Browne

TABLE 2.2 Disposition of the cantus firmus in *O Maria et Elizabeth*

Section	Bars	Voice	Cantus firmus notes	Text of setting ⁹⁹	Chant text
II	45-50	T	1-9	[Iohan]nem. Sic ambarum ubera de caelo plena	Regnum mundi
	45-8	Tr	1-9	[Iohan]nem. Sic ambarum ubera de caelo plena	Regnum mundi
	51-2	M	10-16	superplena de cuius	et
	51-58	T	16-26	sed Maria superplena de cuius plenitudine daemones conculcantur, homines salvantur	et omnem ornatum
	58-61	Tr	27-33	angeli reinte grantur	saeculi
	58-63	T	57-64	angeli reinte grantur et quicquid partus Eliza[beth]	Ihesum Christi
	63-5	T	17-26	Elizabeth boni habet ex donis gratiae	omnem ornatum
	71-8	T	22-38	quarum obsequiis devote salutando humilitatis invicem praestitis, Evae peccamina	ornatum saeculi contempsi
	92-4	T	80-4	servus regem	amavi
	95	T	59-61	[sal]vatore[m]	[Ihe]sum
III	104-6	Tr	1-6	Matres quidam gratam so[cietatem]	Regnum mun[di]
	106-8	M	7-9	[so]cietate[m]	[mun]di
IV	170-4	C	1-9	[ti]bi devotum athletam regem nostrum N	Regnum mundi
	207-9	Tr ¹	1-9	et post felices grandae[vi]	Regnum mundi
	215-16	Tr ¹	1-4	in pater[no]	Regnum mun[di]
	215-19	Tr ²	1-9	liberi regno in pater[no]	Regnum mundi
	234-9	M	64-74	ac ecclesiam et regnum et fidem	Quem vidi
	239-47	T	75-98	et pacem habet populus, amore timeat Deum	quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi
	255-61	T	1-16	det veniam et gratiam immortalis Deus,	Regnum mundi et
	267-71	T	44-52	Amen	[a]morem Domini

The first statement of the cantus firmus commences with the words of the polyphonic setting '[Iohan]nem Sic ambarum' in bar 44. This occurs in a passage scored for four voices instead of a full five-voice texture, a procedure that is fairly unusual in E (Example

⁹⁹Included in this column are those words from *O Maria et Elizabeth* that are heard together with the cantus firmus statement in voices other than the tenor as the length of the tenor notes occasionally precludes some words from being incorporated in the underlay.

2.33).¹⁰⁰ The full complement of voices entering immediately afterwards with 'sed Maria superplena' emphatically supports Mary's right to a place in heaven.¹⁰¹ It is particularly noteworthy that together with this first structural statement of the cantus firmus may be found a paraphrased statement of it in the triplex, the highest voice in the texture, a presentation observed earlier in Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater*.

EXAMPLE 2.33

Subsequent statements of the cantus firmus in the tenor are almost wholly confined to full-voice passages. Several paraphrased statements of the cantus firmus are heard in voices other than the tenor in passages for reduced voices. A structural cantus firmus statement beginning with note 64 in the final section is initially introduced with a reduced-voice passage and is further highlighted by its appearance in the medius rather than the tenor (Example 2.34). At this point the words from the *O Maria et Elizabeth* text are 'ac ecclesiam et regnum et fidem' ('and [may the people have] Church and kingdom and faith') so that the words associated with the part of the responsory stated here, 'Quem vidi' ('whom I have seen') lead to the understanding that Christ oversees Church and king. With the migration of the cantus firmus to the tenor in bar 239, there is a return to the traditional full-voice texture with 'et pacem habeat populos'. This coincides with the melody in the cantus firmus associated with the responsory text 'quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi' ('whom I have loved, in whom I have believed, whom I adore'). Therefore, the appeal for peace for the people is given greater poignancy.

¹⁰⁰The introduction of the initial structural cantus firmus statement in less than the full complement of voices also occurs in Browne's *O Maria salvatoris mater* (in a seven, rather than eight-part texture) and in Davy's *In honore summae matris* (in a four, rather than five-part texture, from bar 39).

¹⁰¹Browne treats the text similarly in his second *Salve regina* setting with the entry of the full texture in the third verse of the trope at 'Et pro nobis flagellato' ('And for us was scourged') in the middle of what is otherwise a verse scored for reduced voices (see p. 122).

[illegible]

This is stylistically a later work than Banester's technically less complex, small-scale, two- and three-part compositions in P.¹⁰² The predominantly syllabic setting of the text in *O Maria et Elizabeth* is quite unusual for an Eton composition and, as Caldwell has suggested, was probably dictated by the length of the prose text.¹⁰³ This results in awkward and unwieldy melodic lines that have a tendency towards being rhythmically static. The rather stilted manner which characterizes the setting is frequently retained even

¹⁰²*Vos saeculi iusti iudices* and *Alleluia*. *Laudate pueri*, P, fols 15^v-17^v (CMM 40, no. 11) and fol. 101^r.

101^v (CMM 40, no. 104) respectively.

¹⁰³Caldwell, 'Banaster', 104.

in the passages where the cantus firmus is absent. Although greater melodic and rhythmic interest is infused in passages leading to the cadences at the end of sections, on the whole the composition lacks the inventiveness and fluidity that typifies many of the later Eton compositions. Nevertheless, it does enable the words to be distinguished in a manner that is normally rather foreign to the intricate melodic lines and melismatic writing which abound in many of the Eton settings by elder composers.

The affinity between *Regnum mundi* and *O Maria et Elizabeth* is particularly noticeable in the prayer to the king (section IV). Nearly every time the word 'regno' (or its derivations) appears in *O Maria et Elizabeth* the cantus firmus - especially that corresponding to the first textual phrase, 'Regnum mundi' - is also present. The sole exception is the long melismatic treatment of 'regnet' in bars 181-7 where the cantus firmus is introduced only with the final syllable, in bar 187. The subtle relationships between unheard cantus firmus text and that of *O Maria et Elizabeth* in this manner may suggest that not only may Banester have written the prose text himself, but he may have chosen the *Regnum mundi* antiphon as his cantus firmus first, and then written the prose text to fit the cantus firmus text.

Benham cites 'the use of crotchets' with the words 'ut arida virga Aaron miro ordine florida' ('like the rod of Aaron flowering by a wondrous dispensation') as one of the few instances of word-painting in E (Example 2.35).¹⁰⁴ The juxtaposition of the melismatic treatment of the word 'florida' which follows the syllabic underlay of 'ut arida virga Aaron miro ordino' seems to capture the sense of the words.

EXAMPLE 2.35



Banester's sensitivity to the meaning of both texts extends beyond the one instance of 'word-painting' to which Benham refers. The relationship between the *O Maria et Elizabeth* text and that of the responsory, although unheard, is subtly mirrored in the music in a manner that perhaps one might not expect from an early Eton composer. Essentially, this textual interdependence in an early Eton composition raises the question of the extent to which such personal text associations are similarly integral to the understanding of previous insular and continental compositions from the fifteenth century. The evidence from Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth* suggests that the subtle linking of cantus firmus and set

¹⁰⁴Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 61.

texts is not idiosyncratic to one composer but is a stylistic approach that was explored by other composers in England in this period.

CONCLUSION

John Browne appears to have been the most prolific and possibly also creative composer represented in E. As yet it has not been possible to establish a chronology for Browne's *oeuvre* on the basis of stylistic developments. The conventional deployment of the cantus firmus in *O regina mundi clara* may indicate that it is an early work. The apparently experimental treatment of the cantus firmus in his *Stabat mater dolorosa* suggests that this composition pre-dates the *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting in which the incorporation of a cantus firmus from a secular source is managed in a far more confident manner. However, it has been postulated in this chapter that the *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* and *O regina mundi clara* settings may have been inspired by the death of the young Prince Arthur (see pp. 36-8 and 47 above). Therefore, despite the marked differences in the choice and treatment of the cantus firmi between these two compositions they may have been written within a short time of one another. Thus, until further documentation about Browne's life surfaces it may well prove difficult to provide a chronology for his extant works.

The discussion of Browne's compositions in E has revealed that there is considerable stylistic variety present in his works. The focus here has been on his selection and treatment of a cantus firmus and has demonstrated that the incorporation of one is an essential compositional ingredient for him. Each of his compositions in E uses a cantus firmus, with his six-part setting of *Stabat virgo mater Christi* employing a double cantus firmus. The majority of Browne's compositions in E are scored for five or more parts, thus the use of a cantus firmus as a means of structural cohesion in these large-scale works is evidently an important feature. Nevertheless, the range of methods employed in the incorporation of a cantus firmus indicates that the choice of using one extends beyond a purely structural function. The rich variety of means used by Browne to manipulate a cantus firmus - including embellishment, segmentation, transposition, migration - is typical of his style.

Drawing on diverse sources for his pre-existent material, Browne's imagination enables him to explore the possibilities for integrating a cantus firmus on a number of levels. In this chapter it has been argued that intentional parallels may exist between ideas expressed in the set text and those present in the unstated text of the cantus firmus in some of his compositions. Such links are not apparent in all of his compositions. However, the proposition that they exist in others is not undermined by this observation, it simply confirms that Browne used a multiplicity of compositional approaches to the exploitation of a cantus firmus.

CHAPTER 3

THE SALVE REGINA SETTINGS

INTRODUCTION

The *Salve regina* text is a regular feature of English and continental books of devotional poetry in the fifteenth century. In company with the *Magnificat* settings, E is the source of the largest collection of pre-Reformation English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina*. They form the second largest group of compositions on a single text in E, after the *Magnificat* settings. Originally, there appear to have been fifteen *Salve regina* settings in E (grouped together on fols f3^v-k3^r, see Table 3.1), as fourteen are listed in the index on fol a1^r. The nine-voice *Salve regina* by Wylkynson is not listed in either the intermediary index to E on fol. ce9^v or the later one on fol. a1^r, indicating that its inclusion followed the original compilation. Of the fifteen settings, fourteen survive complete, with that by Brygeman now existing only in a fragmentary form. A further setting on a related text, *Salve regina* was *mundicie* by Fawkyner (fols e6^v-f1^r), is now lost.

TABLE 3.1 Settings of *Salve regina* in the Eton Choirbook

Order in MS	No. in edition	Foliation	Attribution	Cantus firmus	Published ed/ source	Text type	Liturgical use of cantus firmus
15	9	f3 ^v .66 ^r	Wylkynson	<i>Assumpta est Maria</i>	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. fol. 392 ^r	Antiphon	Assumption
16	59	66 ^v .g1 ^r	Brygeman	<i>Omnes electi</i>	Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxiii ^r ?	Antiphon	All Saints
17	10	g1 ^v .g3 ^r	Horwood	None			
18	11	g3 ^v .g5 ^r	Davy	Unidentified			
19	12	g5 ^v .g7 ^r	Cumphy	None			
20	13	g7 ^v .h1 ^r	Browne	<i>Maria ergo unxit</i>	GB-Ob Misc. li. 6, fol. 55 ^v	Antiphon	Maundy Thursday
21	14	h1 ^v .h3 ^r	Lambe	<i>Salve regina</i>	GB-Ob Misc. li. 6, fol. 100 ^r .102 ^v	Antiphon	Lent (Eton College)
22	15	h3 ^v .h5 ^r	Sutton	<i>Libera nos, salva nos</i>	Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxii ^v	Antiphon	Trinity
23	16	h5 ^v .h7 ^r	Hacomplamt	Unidentified			
24	17	h7 ^v .i1 ^r	Huchyn	<i>Ne timeas Maria</i>	GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 6 ^v	Antiphon	Advent
25	18	i1 ^v .i3 ^r	Wylkynson	None			
26	19	i3 ^v .i5 ^r	Fyrtfax	None			
27	20	i5 ^v .i7 ^r	Hygons	'Caput' from <i>Veni ad Petrum</i>	GB-Ob Rawl. li. 2. 46, fol. 50 ^r .50 ^v	Proc. antiphon	Maundy Thursday
28	21	i7 ^v .k1 ^r	Browne	<i>Veni dilectus meus</i>	Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxi ^v	Antiphon	Assumption
29	22	k1 ^v .k3 ^r	Hampton	None			

Examination of the Eton *Salve regina* settings, of which over half are written on a cantus firmus, reveals that particular features of compositional design are recurrently treated in similar ways. On the most formal level, clarification of the structure of the *Salve regina* text is effected by dividing the text in certain ways; mensuration schemes, textural alterations and the manner in which a cantus firmus is disposed are among the principal means by which this is accomplished. These recurrent features affirm the existence of recognized ways of setting the *Salve regina* in E. In addition, musical response to the *Salve regina* text is witnessed by procedures that appear to emphasize particular rhetorical aspects. The treatment of specific words in certain cadential, melodic, harmonic and imitative ways, along with the manipulation of a cantus firmus, are further dimensions that seem to be indicative of musico-rhetorical approaches to the text. The following discussion will focus especially on the role of the cantus firmus and its function in clarifying the structure and sense of the *Salve regina* text.

THE *SALVE REGINA* TEXT

Salve regina is referred to as a processional chant in Cluny from 1135 and its use as a daily processional chant by the Cistercians is recorded in 1218.¹ *Salve regina* is identified by the words 'post purificationem evangelium' as a *Magnificat* antiphon in the Worcester Antiphonal of c.1230 and in the Office for the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in thirteenth-century additions to the Hartker Antiphoner.² In England, from the thirteenth century onwards, the singing of *Salve regina* became an important constituent of a separate devotion to the Virgin Mary although in some institutions it continued to form part of the Office.³ *Salve regina* was sung daily after Compline at Westminster Abbey c.1266, and evidently by the fifteenth century the singing of *Salve regina* after Compline (either of the day, or of the Virgin, if that was sung in the choir) had become an established practice in England.⁴

The nine-line text is essentially a petition to the Virgin Mary for intercession, concluding with three invocations: 'O clemens', 'O pia' and 'O dulcis Maria'. Some differences in the text may be discerned between secular and monastic sources, the most frequent variations occurring within the first and last lines of the text. The first line, 'Salve regina mater misericordiae', appears regularly without the word 'mater';⁵ whilst the final

¹Ingram, 'The Polyphonic *Salve Regina*', 18; Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy', vol. 2, 241.

²PalMus 12, 352-3; *CH-SGs* 390, p. 10. *Salve regina* is also mentioned as a *Magnificat* antiphon in the Hyde Abbey Breviary, (*GB-Ob* Rawl. lit. e. 1, c.1300) although the text of the antiphon is not included: Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy', vol. 2, 260.

³Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy', vol. 2, 252.

⁴Harrison, 'An English "Caput"', 205.

⁵See, for example, *CH-SGs* 390, p. 10; *GB-Ob* Lat. lit. f. 2, fol. 42^r (c.1410) and *GB-Lbl* Harl. 2942 (mid. s.xv).

line, 'O dulcis Maria', may be seen in some English processional and devotional collections with variations including 'O dulcis virgo Maria'⁶, 'O dulcis Maria mater, salve'⁷ and 'O dulcis Maria, salve'.⁸ The last of these versions is that employed in the polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* in E, resulting in the symmetrical inclusion of 'salve' for the first and final words of the text.⁹

In English and continental sources dating from the thirteenth century, the text of *Salve regina* is often extended by the addition of new material. One of the most common accretions is a trope derived in part from the six-stanza hymn, *Virgo mater ecclesiae*.¹⁰ In these earliest appearances, three stanzas of the hymn are normally included: the first, 'Virgo mater ecclesiae', fourth, 'Virgo clemens, virgo mater', and fifth, 'Funde preces tuo nato'. These were inserted following the first six lines of the *Salve regina* text and each trope stanza (shown below in italics) was separated by an invocation from the main text:¹¹

⁶GB-Ob Misc. lit. 104, fol. 122^r (s.xiv³).

⁷GB-Ob Gough lit. 9, fol. 62^r (s.xv²).

⁸See the Books of Hours, GB-Ob Rawl. lit. f. 2, fol. 46^v (mid. s.xv) and GB-Ob Auct. D. infra 2. 13, fol. 108^v (c.1470).

⁹In two *Salve regina* settings attributed to Dunstable - MB 8, nos. 46 and 63 - the final line is 'O dulcis Maria'. However, in Tr90, one of the sources for the latter setting (ascribed to 'Leonef' in ModB, fols 86^v-88^r), the underlay of the highest voice is 'O dulcis virgo mater Maria', whilst in the same setting in Tr92 this is replaced by 'O dulcis Ihesu Maria'. The differences in underlay are noted in the Commentary: MB 8, 207.

¹⁰Exemplified in the *Salve regina* preserved in thirteenth-century additions to the Hartker Antiphoner, CH-SGs 390, p. 10. An edition of the hymn, *Virgo mater ecclesiae*, is AH 23, 57. Four of the six stanzas from the hymn were used as trope material; two stanzas, 'Stella maris, lux refulgens' and 'Alma mater summi regis', do not appear in the trope in any of the sources of *Salve regina*. Amongst fourteenth-century English devotional collections may be seen rhymed paraphrase tropes of *Salve regina* - for example, *Salve regina celorum* in GB-Ob Misc. lit. 6, fols 99^v-100^r. Two different tropes from *Virgo mater ecclesiae* are used in polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* by Dunstable and Fawkyner. The text of Dunstable's setting, *Salve regina mater mire*, from ModB, fols 91^v-92^r, is not recorded in liturgical books of the Sarum rite or AH according to the editors: MB 8, 197. Fawkyner's *Salve regina vas mundicie* (mentioned on p. 88 above) is lost.

¹¹In some devotional collections, the acclamations appear not only between stanzas of the trope, but are also repeated, one after the other, in the final line. See, for example, the Book of Hours GB-Ob Gough lit. 3, fols 39^v-40^r (c.1500) in which the final line is 'O clemens, O pia, O dulcis, O mitis Maria, salve'. An anonymous four-voice setting in Car, fols 141^v-149^r ends with 'O benigna, O clemens, O pia, O dulcis et gloriosa virgo Maria, salve'.

The Salve Regina Settings

Line 1	Salve regina, mater misericordiae:	Hail O Queen, mother of mercy:
Line 2	vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve.	our life, sweetness and hope, hail.
Line 3	Ad te clamamus, exsules filii Evae.	To thee do we cry, exiled children of Eve.
Line 4	Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle.	To thee do we sigh, lamenting and weeping in this vale of tears.
Line 5	Eia ergo, advocata nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte	Therefore, O thou our advocate, turn thy merciful eyes towards us.
Line 6	Et Ihesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende.	And, after this our exile, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
Verse 1	<i>Virgo mater ecclesiae, Aeterna porta gloriae, Esto nobis refugium Apud Patrem et Filium.</i>	<i>Virgin mother of the Church, everlasting gate to glory, be our refuge before the Father and the Son.</i>
Line 7	O clemens	O merciful,
Verse 2	<i>Virgo clemens, virgo pia, Virgo dulcis O Maria, Exaudi preces omnium Ad te pie clamantium.</i>	<i>Gentle virgin, loving virgin O sweet virgin Mary, hear the prayers of all who humbly cry to you.</i>
Line 8	O pia	O holy,
Verse 3	<i>Funde preces tuo nato, Crucifixo, vulnerato, Et pro nobis flagellato, Spinis puncto, felle potato.</i>	<i>Pour out prayers to your Son, the crucified, the wounded, scourged for our sake, pierced with thorns and given gall to drink.</i>
Line 9	O dulcis Maria, salve!	O sweet Mary, hail! ¹²

Although variations in the arrangement of the trope stanzas may be seen in the thirteenth-century sources such as the Hartker Antiphoner - where the second stanza of the hymn 'Gloriosa Dei' is substituted for 'Funde preces nato' so that the order of stanzas used in the trope is 4, 1 and 2 - in England the arrangement of trope stanzas was standardized by the fifteenth century.¹³ During the fourteenth century, the number of trope stanzas that appeared with *Salve regina* in chant books and devotional collections had expanded from

¹²Translation of main *Salve regina* text: Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 275.

¹³The lines within and between stanzas are also arranged in a different order in the St Gallen version of the trope recorded in Hartker's Antiphoner.

three to five in most English sources, with the addition of stanza 2 from the hymn 'Gloriosa Dei mater' and a new stanza, 'Dele culpas miserorum', for which a liturgical source has not been identified:

Verse 5	<i>Dele culpas miserorum,</i>	<i>Blot out the sins of the wretched,</i>
	<i>Terge sordes peccatorum,</i>	<i>wipe away the filth of sins,</i>
	<i>Dona nobis beatorum</i>	<i>grant us the life of the blessed</i>
	<i>Vitam tuis precibus.</i>	<i>through your prayers.</i>

English processionalists from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries normally provide a plainsong melody for all five trope stanzas.¹⁴ A sixth stanza following 'Dele culpas miserorum' and the invocation 'O mitis' also occurs in fifteenth-century additions to the abridged Sarum Processional *GB-Lbl* Harl. 2942, fols 2^v-3^v, the mid-fifteenth-century Processional *GB-Ob* Misc. lit. 6, fols 100^r-102^v and mid-fifteenth-century Godstow Psalter, Manchester, Chetham's Hospital Library MS 6717.¹⁵

Verse 6	<i>Et nos solvat a peccatis</i>	<i>And release us from our sins</i>
	<i>Pro amore sue matris</i>	<i>through the love of His mother.</i>
	<i>Et in regno claritatis</i>	<i>And lead us, king of mercy,</i>
	<i>Ducat nos, rex pietatis.</i>	<i>into the kingdom of light.</i>

Another stanza beginning 'Supra celos exaltata' is appended to the six-stanza trope in the Godstow Psalter, whilst a further three stanzas that were sung by the Brigittines of Syon are preserved in the Breviary *GB-Ob* Rawl. lit. C. 781, fol. 68^v.¹⁶ None of these stanzas appears in English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina*.

¹⁴For example, *GB-Ob* Rawl. lit. d. 4, fol. 181, (s. xiv²) and *GB-Lbl* Harl. 2942, fols 2^v-3^v (s. xv addition).

¹⁵The provenance of neither *GB-Lbl* Harl. 2942 nor *GB-Ob* Misc. lit. 6 is known. Roper omits any mention of the British Library source for this stanza, stating that *GB-Ob* Misc. lit. 6 and *GB-Mch* 6717 are the only known sources of it: 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy', vol. 2, 281.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 114-15.

ENGLISH POLYPHONIC SETTINGS OF *SALVE REGINA*

The popularity of *Salve regina* is testified to by the large number of polyphonic settings on the text that emerged in the fifteenth century both on the Continent and in England. A single part thought to be designed for performance as a three-part *rota* is one of the earliest settings and is preserved in British Library, Royal Manuscript, 7. A. VI, fols 35^v-36^r, a composition that may be dated c.1380-90.¹⁷ The trope stanzas are absent from this setting and, although the plainsong is used for the setting of the first text phrase '*Salve regina misericordiae*', the melody thereafter continues independently of the plainsong. Although found in a British source, the case for English authorship of this polyphonic setting has not yet been conclusively established.¹⁸

Over one hundred *Salve regina* settings by continental composers dating from the fifteenth century exist, with compositional approaches to the text exhibiting more diversity than is found in English settings. The trope *Virgo mater ecclesiae* is almost never included in these settings. The only known exception is that by Hubertus de Salinis in Q15, one of the earliest continental settings, that includes the first three stanzas of the *Virgo mater ecclesiae* trope.¹⁹ By contrast, this trope appears in all fifteenth-century English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina*. Therefore, it is probable that the anonymous *Salve regina* settings that include the *Virgo mater ecclesiae* trope in gatherings of the Trent Codices containing predominantly English compositions are also of English provenance.²⁰

The practice of including the trope stanzas in *Salve regina* was established in performances of the plainsong antiphon, for which a choir would normally sing the main *Salve regina* text and a cantor, or other soloist, would sing the trope stanzas.²¹ The possibilities for dramatic exploitation may explain the apparent preference for the troped-stanza version of *Salve regina* by English composers. Moreover, the longer text proved to be ideal for the composition of the large-scale votive antiphon, a favoured genre in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* from the late fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries are listed in Table 3.2:²²

¹⁷Discussed by Sandon in 'Mary, Meditations, Monks and Music'.

¹⁸A concordance existed in *F-Sm* 222 (copied s.xv², destroyed in 1870); *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁹Q15, fols 236^v-237^r (de Van).

²⁰Harrison, *MMB*, 301, n. 2.

²¹Harrison, 'An English "Caput"', 206.

²²In this Table, the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Harl. 1709 is the medius from a set of partbooks of c.1525. See Sandon, 'The Manuscript London, British Library Harley 1709'. The medius from a setting by Ludford of a related text to *Salve regina*, *Salve regina pudica mater*, appears on fols 9^r-11^v. The anonymous *Salve regina* setting that follows Cornysh's setting in the Scottish choirbook, *Car*, has been included in this Table because it includes the trope stanzas suggesting that it might have been written by an English composer although as yet it has not been confirmed that the setting is of English provenance.

The Salve Regina Settings

TABLE 3.2 English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina*

Source	Edition	Attribution	Trope stanzas
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Royal 7. A. VI, fols 35 ^v -36 ^r	Sandon: 'Mary, Meditations', 50-1.	anon.	None
Q15 , fols 269 ^r -270 ^r	CMM 50, I: 10	Leonel Power	1, 2, 3
ModB , fols 82 ^v -84 ^r ; Tr87 , fols 34 ^v -36 ^r	MB 8: 46	Dunstable	1, 2, 3
Tr90 , fols 366 ^v -368 ^v ; Tr92 , fols 231 ^v -233 ^v ; Ao , fols 203 ^v -206 ^r ; ModB , fols 86 ^v -88 ^r	MB 8: 63	Leonel Power [Dunstable]	1, 2, 3
Tr90 , fols 305 ^v -307 ^r	DTÖ 53: 8	anon.	1, 2, 3
Tr92 , fols 228 ^v -229 ^v	DTÖ 53: 13	anon.	1, 2, 3
R , fols 124 ^v -129 ^r		anon.	1, 2, 3
E , fols f3 ^v -f6 ^r	MB 10: 9	Wylkynson	1, 2, 3
E , fols f6 ^v -g1 ^r	MB 12: 59 (incipit) Diss. edition	Brygeman	[] 3
E , fols g1 ^v -g3 ^r	MB 10: 10	Horwood	1, 2, 3
E , fols g3 ^v -g5 ^r	MB 10: 11	Davy	1, 2, 3
E , fols g5 ^v -g7 ^r ; Car , fols 136 ^v -141 ^r ; <i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709, fols 51 ^v -53 ^r	MB 10: 12	Cornysh	1, 2, 3
E , fols g7 ^v -h1 ^r	MB 10: 13	Browne	1, 2, 3
E , fols h1 ^v -h3 ^r	MB 10: 14	Lambe	1, 2, 3
E , fols h3 ^v -h5 ^r	MB 11: 15	Sutton	1, 2, 3
E , fols h5 ^v -h7 ^r	MB 11: 16	Hacomplaynt	1, 2, 5
E , fols h7 ^v -i1 ^r	MB 11: 17	Huchyn	1, 2, 3
E , fols i1 ^v -i3 ^r	MB 11: 18	Wylkynson	1, 2, 5
E , fols i3 ^v -i5 ^r	MB 11: 19	Fayrfax	1, 2, 3
E , fols i5 ^v -i7 ^r	MB 11: 20	Hygons	1, 2, 3
E , fols i7 ^v -k1 ^r	MB 11: 21	Browne	1, 2, 3
E , fols k1 ^v -k3 ^r	MB 11: 22	Hampton	1, 2, 3, 5
Car , fols 141 ^v -149 ^r		anon. (Magister Andrea H?)	1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Lam , fols 32 ^v -35 ^r		anon.	1, 2, 3, 5
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709, fols 15 ^v -18 ^r		anon.	1, 2, 3
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709, fols 18 ^r -19 ^v		anon.	1, 2, 3
<i>GB-Cu</i> Peterhouse 471-4;			
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709, fols 26 ^r -28 ^v		Pygott	1, 2, 3
<i>GB-Cu</i> Peterhouse 471-4;			
<i>GB-Lbl</i> Harl. 1709, fols 49 ^v -51 ^v		Ludford	1, 2, 3

Apart from the fourteenth-century *rota*, no settings of *Salve regina* exist in any manuscripts now in England before that in the fifth layer of the Ritson manuscript (c.1500). Appearing in the earliest layer of the continental manuscript **Q15**, Leonel Power's three-voice *Salve regina* incorporates a lightly paraphrased version of the Marian antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater* in the highest voice throughout most of the setting, although it is excluded for the acclamations 'O clemens', 'O pia', 'O dulcis Maria'. In the three-part setting by Dunstable (preserved in **ModB**, fols 82^v-84^r, and **Tr87**, fols 34^v-36^r) the plainsong antiphon *Salve regina* is not used; however, in the setting ascribed variously to Leonel Power and Dunstable - although most probably by the former - the plainsong is used in conjunction with the three invocations 'O clemens', 'O pia' and 'O dulcis Maria'. The emphasis given to these supplicatory phrases by way of inclusion of the relevant plainsong melody is also a prominent feature of the Eton settings, although in these the cantus firmus is virtually never the plainsong melody for *Salve regina*.

In the first layer of the Ritson manuscript, a monophonic mensural version of *Salve regina*, written in plainsong notation, includes all five stanzas of the trope (fols 47^v-48^r).²³ This may have been the model for the three-voice polyphonic version found on fols 124^v-129^r from the fifth layer of the manuscript (written in strene notation), although in this setting only the first three stanzas are included.²⁴

In the majority of the Eton *Salve regina* settings the three trope stanzas that were first associated with *Salve regina* in monophonic sources - 'Virgo, mater ecclesiae', 'Virgo clemens, virgo pia' and 'Funde preces tuo nato' - are incorporated in preference to the five- or six-stanza versions of the *Salve regina* text that appear in contemporaneous processional and devotional collections. Three *Salve regina* settings in E also employ the fifth stanza of the trope 'Dele culpas miserorum'.²⁵

Although the singing of *Salve regina* is recorded throughout the year for some institutions, the Eton College statutes specify that *Salve regina* 'with its verses' was to be sung during Lent.²⁶ However, many of the Eton settings include a cantus firmus derived from a plainsong source not associated with Lent and the choice of some of these seems to have been influenced by the foundations and chapels with which individual composers were associated.

²³Two foliation sequences exist at present on **R** and appear on the upper right-hand margin of the recto of each leaf. The system used when referring to the manuscript is the inner one.

²⁴Benham, 'Sroke or Strene Notation', 158. Benham discovered that it seems to be a simplified version of the *Salve regina* variously ascribed to Dunstable and Power: 'Salve regina (Power or Dunstable)'.

²⁵The stanza 'Funde preces tuo nato' is replaced with 'Dele culpas miserorum' in Hacomplaynt and Wylkynson's five-voice *Salve regina* settings, whilst Hampton's *Salve regina* adds the stanza 'Dele culpas miserorum' after 'Funde preces tuo nato' following the invocation 'O mitis'. The fourth stanza, 'Gloriosa Dei mater', appears in an anonymous *Salve regina* in **Car** (s.xv/s.xvi).

²⁶Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, 555; quoted in Harrison, 'Background', 158-9.

SOURCE OF CANTUS FIRMI

Sources for cantus firmi in eight of the ten Eton *Salve regina* settings that incorporate a structural cantus firmus have been identified. Those used in the settings by Davy and Hacomplaynt have so far eluded recognition although the ambitus of their cantus firmi (*d-d'* and *d-c'* respectively) with *g* as the final in both cases suggest plainsong sources.²⁷ Allusions to the *Salve regina* melody also appear in Fayrfax's and Horwood's settings; however, in these the plainsong is not treated as a cantus firmus. In Fayrfax's setting, the opening 'salve' motif from the antiphon is transposed up a fourth in company with the words 'Virgo mater ecclesiae' (bars 82-5), whilst paraphrased references to the *Salve regina* opening are also possibly made in stanza 2 with 'Virgo clemens' and 'Exaudi preces' (bars 123-5 and 142-4) in Horwood's *Salve regina*.

Lambe's setting is the only one that uses the plainsong *Salve regina* melody as the cantus firmus; the employment of the corresponding plainsong is also a feature of his *Nesciens mater* and *Ascendit Christus* settings in E. Lambe incorporates the antiphon in a series of partial statements that see the cantus firmus treated variously in structural and paraphrased versions in which migrant cantus firmus procedures are prominent. The complete antiphon is not stated in the setting; however, portions of the plainsong with corresponding text underlay are given with the appropriate set text instead.

The Eton statutes specifically authorize the singing of *Salve regina* during Lent; however, apart from Lambe's setting, the only other Eton *Salve regina* settings that use a plainsong from the Lent or Passiontide seasons are those by Hygons and Browne (the first one). In each of these, the plainsong used is associated with the Mandatum ceremony on Holy Thursday. The employment of *Maria ergo unxit* as the cantus firmus in Browne's first *Salve regina* setting sustains the Marian associations between the set text and underlying text of the plainsong. As far as can be ascertained, (allowing for the fact that two cantus firmi are still to be identified) a complete plainsong melody is almost always used as a cantus firmus in the Eton *Salve regina* settings. The only exception is Hygons's use of the 'caput' melisma from the Sarum processional antiphon associated with the Mandatum ceremony, *Venit ad Petrum*. A compositional precedent for the employment of this plainsong melisma as a cantus firmus survives in **Tr93** amongst other compositions thought to be of English provenance.²⁸

²⁷The cantus firmus in Davy's setting may be associated with Gevaert's Thème 17 and Hacomplaynt's with Gevaert's Thème 14: Gevaert, *La Mélodie Antique*, 275-7 and 282-9 respectively.

²⁸Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, II, no. 5. An extensive bibliography exists on the use of the 'caput' melisma in the fifteenth century; see particularly the studies by Bukofzer, 'Caput: A Liturgical-Musical Study' in *Studies*; Planchart (ed.), *Missa: Caput*; Harrison, 'An English "Caput"; and M. and I. Bent, 'Dufay, Dunstable, Plummer'. The 'caput' melisma is also used in settings of the Mass Ordinary by Ockeghem and Obrecht.

Two Eton *Salve regina* settings adopt Office antiphons associated with the feast of the Assumption for their cantus firmi, thus serving to consolidate the Marian connection. In Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina* the cantus firmus is *Assumpta est Maria*,²⁹ whilst in the second of Browne's settings *Veni dilectus meus*, the text of which is derived from the Song of Songs, is employed.³⁰ Earlier, it was noted that celebration of the feast of the Virgin's Assumption was one of the most important liturgical occasions of the year at Eton College.³¹ It is not implausible that the nine-voice setting by Wylkynson, Master of Choristers at Eton from 1499/1500 to 1515 was composed specifically for celebration of this feast at Eton College. Browne's setting was also probably intended for performance especially on the feast of the Assumption.

One of the two compositions by Brygeman listed in the contemporary index in E is a five-part *Salve regina* for which only fragments survive (a five-part *Magnificat* has been lost altogether). The cantus firmus employed is the Office antiphon *Omnes electi*, proper to the feast of All Saints. Minimal biographical information regarding William Brygeman is available, although it is recorded that he spent three terms as Master of Choristers at Eton College in 1503³² and Bowers notes that he was associated with the parish church of All Saints in Bristol as a clerk, and possibly Master of Choristers at the time of his death in 1524.³³ Therefore, his incorporation of an All Saints antiphon suggests that this *Salve regina* may well have been composed whilst Brygeman was resident at Bristol.

Similarly, the inclusion of *Libera nos, salva nos* in Sutton's *Salve regina* setting probably reflects the status of this Office antiphon at Magdalen College, Oxford where Sutton was Master of Choristers between 1477 and 1479.³⁴ The singing of *Libera nos, salva nos* is specified in the Magdalen College statutes and its importance in this institution is confirmed by two polyphonic settings of the text by John Sheppard, Master of Choristers during the years 1543-8.³⁵ The Marian connection is further explored in Huchyn's setting of *Salve regina*, which uses *Ne timeas Maria*, an antiphon sung at Advent, as its cantus firmus.

²⁹An early English appearance of the text of this antiphon is found in the eleventh-century Exeter Breviary, GB-Lbl Harl. 2961, fol. 132^r.

³⁰Song of Songs, S: 1. For the most recent discussion of Marian antiphons, including *Veni dilectus meus*, see Steiner, 'Marian Antiphons at Cluny and Lewes'.

³¹See n. 80 above.

³²Harrison, MB 12, xiv.

³³Bowers, 'Brygeman', 401.

³⁴Wulstan, *Tudor Music*, 273. The singing of *Libera nos, salva nos* is also noted in the Eton College statutes: Heywood and Wright, *The Ancient Laws*, statute 30, 552.

³⁵Preserved in the partbooks GB-Och 979-83.

PRESENTATION OF THE CANTUS FIRMUS

In common with cantus firmus treatment throughout E, the scaffolding type of cantus firmus is favoured in the *Salve regina* settings, with the cantus firmus laid out mostly in note values longer than those of the surrounding voices. The presentation of the structural cantus firmus is almost invariably confined to the tenor voice, its occurrence in other voices appearing to highlight and strengthen associations between the music and text. This procedure may be seen in only two settings, the nine-voice one by Wylkynson and Lambe's (discussed further on pp. 107 and 120 respectively). Various attitudes to the structural tenor cantus firmus result in the quotation of a pre-existent melody sometimes in a strictly literal fashion with minimal deviations from the Sarum plainsong, whilst at other times, a melody may incorporate additional notes or omit repetitions inherent in the source. The extension of a plainsong melody by way of repeating each of its notes several times, a technique used for instance in the first statement of *Ne timeas Maria* in Huchyn's *Salve regina*, may also be seen in Obrecht's treatment of the cantus firmus in the Credo of his *Missa super Petrus Apostolus*.³⁶

Statement of the cantus firmus in a structural fashion is normally avoided in the trope stanzas, so that rare appearances of a cantus firmus in these sections suggest a function in underpinning ideas within the text. The presence of the cantus firmus alongside the invocations 'O clemens', 'O pia' and 'O dulcis Maria, salve' in all the Eton settings for which a cantus firmus has been identified confirms the establishment of a convention that is not so evident amongst fifteenth-century continental settings. Since this procedure occurs in passages of text that are inserted between the trope stanzas, the effect is to distinguish sections of the main *Salve regina* text from those belonging to the added trope stanzas.

Paraphrased statements of the cantus firmus, in which the pre-existent melody undergoes a degree of melodic embellishment and is of a rhythmically more lively disposition, are used extensively within the *Salve regina* settings. As with such cantus firmus treatment in the Pepys manuscript, the elaborated cantus firmus is most frequently presented in the highest voice - in E occurring largely in passages scored for fewer voices - and is recognizable chiefly at the beginning rather than midway through these sections. By this means, allusion to the cantus firmus in the openings of the trope-stanza sections, that are settings of the text that otherwise omit structural cantus firmus statements, is also made possible. The incorporation of both structural and elaborated cantus firmus statements within the same composition is a characteristic feature of compositions on a cantus firmus in E. Previously, this was a far from widespread practice in England, although it was not

³⁶See Sparks, *CFMM*, 269, Example 96.

wholly unheard of - as attested by a few compositions in P in which paraphrased cantus firmus statements are used in some stanzas whilst structural statements are heard in others.

The use of both elaborated and structural cantus firmus statements within the same composition does not imply that such methods of cantus firmus treatment result in simultaneous statements of the cantus firmus being heard regularly. These are rarely encountered, although a most striking exception is the opening of the incomplete Brygeman *Salve regina*, in which the first six notes of the cantus firmus, the Office antiphon *Omnes electi*, are stated in all three extant voices in a quasi-canonic fashion creating a stretto effect (Example 3.1).

EXAMPLE 3.1



In Browne's first *Salve regina* setting, notes 29 to 36 of the cantus firmus are sounded simultaneously in the triplex and tenor with the final invocation, 'O dulcis Maria, salve' (bars 183-5). The 'O pia' sections in the settings by Lambe, Sutton and Wylkynson's first setting also feature simultaneous statements of the cantus firmus in two or more voices. The presentation of the cantus firmus in more than one voice at the same time occurs with greater frequency in Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina* setting than in any other Eton *Salve regina*. The simultaneous statement at the beginning of the second stanza of the trope 'Virgo clemens' arises through a point of imitation between quatruxplex and inferior contratenor (Example 3.2).

EXAMPLE 3.2



In section XI, the cantus firmus is heard in several voices other than the main structural statement in the triplex. The opening motif, notes 1 to 4, is stated in the secundus contratenor in the opening of 'Et pro nobis' (bar 185, Example 3.3) and re-stated, transposed down a fifth, in the secundus bassus (bars 188-9).

The Salve Regina Settings

EXAMPLE 3.3

Triplex
 185 1 2 3 4 5 190 6 7
 Et pro no bis fla - gel - la -

Secundus Contratenor
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Et pro no - - - - - 5th 1 2 3 4 5 7 - bis

Secundus Bassus
 Et pro no bis fla - gel -

Primus Bassus
 Et pro no - - - - - bis fla - gel - la -

Other examples of motifs from the cantus firmus being treated as points of imitation may be seen in the final 'salve' sections in the two *Salve regina* settings by Browne and in the 'gementes et flentes' passage in Lambe's setting (Example 3.4).

EXAMPLE 3.4

Tenor
 60 61 62 63
 ga - men - tes et fla - tes in hac la - cri - ma - rum val -

Alto
 ga - men - tes et fla - tes in hac la - cri - ma - rum val -

Tenor
 ga - men - tes et fla - tes in hac la - cri - ma - rum val -

Alto
 ga - men - tes et fla - tes in hac la - cri - ma - rum val -

Bass
 ga - men - tes et fla - tes in hac la - cri - ma - rum val -

Imitation involving a structural cantus firmus also occurs in the 'O pia' section in Sutton's setting (Example 3.5) where notes 32 to 39 are stated firstly in the primus contratenor, then rhythmically augmented in the tenor statement and imitated by secundus contratenor, medius and triplex.

EXAMPLE 3.5



Simultaneous statements of the cantus firmus serve to extend the meaning of the *Salve regina* text by combining portions of the antiphon text with it. They also provide musical cohesion through recurring references to the opening melodic gesture of the cantus firmus.

DIVISION OF THE *SALVE REGINA* TEXT MENSURATION

In terms of large-scale organization, delineation between the main *Salve regina* text and trope stanzas is effected primarily by changes in mensuration in the majority of the *Salve regina* settings in E. Compositional precedents for this distinction between *Salve regina* and trope texts may be seen in the settings by Leonel Power and Dunstable and in the anonymous three-voice *Salve regina* in R modelled on the setting ascribed to both these composers. In these settings there are five mensurations throughout, commencing in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minori* (Table 3.3).

TABLE 3.3 Mensuration schemes in English fifteenth-century settings of *Salve regina*

Composer	Published edition/source	Lines 1-4	Line 5	Line 6	Verse 1-Line 7	Verse 2-Line 8	Verse 3	Line 9
Leonel Power	CMM 50, f. 10	♢			O	C	C ³⁷	
Dunstable	MB 8: 46	O			O	C	O	
Leonel Power [Dunstable]	MB 8: 63	O	C		O	C	O	
Anon.	DTO 53: 8	O	C		O	C	O	
Anon.	DTO 53: 13	O	C		O	C	O	
Anon.	R, fols 124 ^v -129 ^r	♢	C		♢		C	♢

³⁷A change to C occurs at the mid-stanza, i.e. with the words 'et pro nobis flagellato'.

From this Table it can be seen that new mensurations are always introduced at the beginning of a new line or trope stanza in the *Salve regina* text. In the Eton *Salve regina* settings the use of two different mensurations over the course of the first six lines of the text is abandoned in favour of one mensuration. There is also a preference for a single mensuration for the trope stanzas and invocations. The last mensuration change normally occurs with the final invocation, 'O dulcis Maria, salve'; however, in some settings it appears with the commencement of the third stanza of the trope 'Funde preces', in common with earlier practice (Table 3.4).

TABLE 3.4 Mensuration schemes in the *Salve regina* settings in the Eton Choirbook

Composer	Edition & number	Lines 1-6	Verse 1	Line 7	Verse 2	Line 8	Verse 3	Line 9
Sutton	MB 11: 15	φ		ε		φ		φ
Huchyn	MB 11: 17							
Horwood	MB 10: 10							
Davy	MB 10: 11	φ	ε					φ
Hacomplaynt	MB 11: 16							
Wylkynson	MB 11: 18							
Wylkynson	MB 10: 9	O	C					O
Hygons	MB 11: 20							
Cornysh	MB 10: 12	φ	ε				φ	
Fayrfax	MB 11: 19							
Browne	MB 10: 13	φ			ε			
Hampton	MB 11: 22							
Browne	MB 11: 21	φ	ε					
Lambe	MB 10: 14	ε						
Brygeman	MB 12: 59 Diss. edition	φ		Lost			ε	

Many of the settings make a distinction between the main *Salve regina* text and the first of the trope stanzas by a change from triple to duple mensuration. A return to triple mensuration coincides with the final acclamation in six of the settings.

The number of structural cantus firmus statements varies from between one partial statement (Lambe's setting) to three complete statements plus a partial statement (Wylkynson's nine-part setting). Settings that consist of multiple cantus firmus statements normally employ contrasting mensurations for at least two of the statements. Harrison's claim that over half the E compositions on a cantus firmus dispose the tenor in such a way that there are two statements, each in a different mensuration, is not supported entirely by

the *Salve regina* settings.³⁸ Only the two settings by Browne adhere to this practice (with an additional partial statement - notes 1 to 6 of the cantus firmus in ϕ - in Browne's second setting). The other two settings that have two complete cantus firmus statements are those by Huchyn and Hygons. In each of these settings, the first statement is in ϕ whilst the second cantus firmus statement is apportioned to ϕ and ζ in Huchyn's setting and to ϕ ζ ϕ in Hygons's setting. This presentation of one of the statements of the cantus firmus in two or three different mensurations also occurs in Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina* and Sutton's *Salve regina* setting, both of which include three complete cantus firmus statements. In each of these, one cantus firmus statement is written in *tempus perfectum* and one in *tempus imperfectum*. However, the first statement of the cantus firmus in Wylkynson's setting is divided so that half is in O and half is in C. In Sutton's setting, it is the middle statement that is distributed in a symmetrical fashion over three mensurations, ϕ , ζ and \mathfrak{z} .

FORMAL DIVISIONS OF THE *SALVE REGINA* TEXT

All the *Salve regina* settings in E highlight the structure of the *Salve regina* and trope texts by means of dividing the text into sections, shown in the manuscript by way of a vertical stroke through all parts and a principal musical cadence. This results in the emphasis of particular words in the text by the use of cadential material and a caesura in all voices. Table 3.5 indicates where these divisions occur in relation to the *Salve regina* text; the end of each section is defined by the word upon which the cadence is made. The number of sections in each setting varies from four (Hampton) to thirteen (Cornysh); however, the majority of settings are divided into ten to twelve sections.³⁹

The divisions almost invariably occur at the end of a line from the *Salve regina* text, thus following its structure. There are two significant exceptions to this: the first 'salve' is sometimes isolated by a sectional division, whilst the end of a formal section is recurrently made following the words 'Et lhesum', from the beginning of line 6. Wylkynson's nine-part setting, the first of Browne's settings and Huchyn's *Salve regina* allot the first 'salve' a section on its own, thereby drawing attention to the word 'salve' which occurs three times in the *Salve regina* text used by the Eton composers. Even though the words 'Et lhesum' belong to the opening of a text phrase, they are set apart in almost all the *Salve*

³⁸Harrison, *MMB*, 312.

³⁹Division into twelve sections is the most popular scheme. Following Elders remarks on the symbolic linking of the number 12 with the crown of stars said to adorn the Virgin Mary, Judd commented that the appearance of twelve statements of the ostinato in Josquin's five-part *Salve regina* may have been a symbolically inspired compositional decision: 'Josquin des Prez: *Salve regina*', 119; Elders, *Studien zur Symbolik in der Musik*, 125-6.

TABLE 3.5 Division of the *Salve regina* text in the Eton Choirbook settings

No. of Sections	Setting	Attribution	Line 1		Line 2	Line 4	Line 5	Line 6		1st verse of trope		Line 7	2nd verse of trope		Line 8	3rd verse of trope		4th verse of trope	Line 9
			Initial salve	misericordias	Second salve	vxlle	converte	Besum	ostende	glorias	filium	O clemens	O Maria	clamarium	O pia	vulnerato	potato	precibus	salve
13	g ⁵ v. g ² f	Cornysh		I	II		III	IV	V		VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII		XIII
12	f ³ v. g ² f	Wykynton	I		II			III	IV		V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI		XII
	g ² v. g ² f	Davy		I	II			III	IV		V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI		XII
	h ³ v. h ² f	Sutton			I			II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI		XII
	h ² v. i ¹ f	Huchyn	I					II	III	IV		V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	i ³ v. i ² f	Fayfax					I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI		XII
11	h ¹ v. h ² f	Lambe			I			II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX		X		XI
	i ⁵ v. i ² f	Hygons		I	II	III		IV	V		VI	VII		VIII	IX		X		XI
	g ¹ v. g ² f	Hocwood					I	II	III		IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X		XI
10	h ⁵ v. h ² f	Hacomplaynt		I	II		III		IV		V	VI		VII	VIII			IX	X
9	i ¹ v. i ² f	Wykynton			I			II	III		IV	V		VI	VII			VIII	IX
6	i ² v. k ¹ f	Browne						I	II			III			IV		V		VI
5	g ² v. h ¹ f	Browne	I		II				III		IV								V
4	k ¹ v. h ² f	Hampton						I	II		III								IV
Incomplete	f ⁶ v. g ¹ f	Brygman				I			II							*			*

regina settings in E. Although the settings in E represent the first examples of this practice, it subsequently became an English tradition (see pp. 115-16 below).⁴⁰

As well as including changes in mensuration, the distinction between the main *Salve regina* text and that of the trope is further enhanced by the formal division of the text that occurs universally in the Eton settings following the end of line six with the words 'nobis post hoc exsilium ostende'. No consistent ways of dividing lines one to five in the text may be discerned between settings. Following 'Et Ihesum', the divisions normally occur at the ends of the invocations and each stanza of the trope.

The second and third trope stanzas are often divided into two sections, with a cadence at the half-stanza. This happens less frequently in the first trope stanza. With the exception of Browne's first setting and that by Hampton, all the settings have divisions after the invocations 'O clemens' and 'O pia'. This reflects the distinctions made between the two texts in plainsong practice whereby soloists would sing the trope stanzas and the full choir the *Salve regina* invocations. Another musical means by which the structure of the *Salve regina* may be clarified is through the manipulation of texture.

TEXTURE

In fifteenth-century liturgical books, directions for the performance of the plainsong *Salve regina* stipulate that the main *Salve regina* text (including the three invocations) was to be sung by the choir and the stanzas of the trope by the cantor or other soloist.⁴¹ This manner of performance is reflected in English polyphonic *Salve regina* settings, most noticeably in the separation of the main text from that of the trope by means of alterations in texture. In E, conventional treatment of texture leads to the juxtaposition of fully scored invocations with reduced, two- and three-part textures in the trope stanzas, serving to distinguish and contrast main ideas from the *Salve regina* text with subsidiary ones from the trope.

There are considerable variations in the textures employed for the first two lines of *Salve regina*; however, two- or three-voice textures are preferred for the opening 'salve'. Only the nine-voice setting by Wylkynson and Browne's first setting open with full-voice textures, treating the first 'salve' as an introductory acclamation. The change in texture that follows immediately serves to isolate and highlight this word further. Almost every *Salve regina* setting in E uses a full-voice texture for the second 'salve', the words 'Et Ihesum' and 'ostende' as well as the invocations, thus emphasizing these particular words by textural means.

⁴⁰Browne's first setting and that by Hacomplaynt are the only exceptions. In continental *Salve regina* settings 'Et Ihesum' usually commences a new section rather than ending one.

⁴¹As in the Ordinal from St Mary's Abbey, York, c.1400; quoted in Harrison, *MMB*, 82.

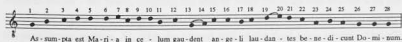
The third stanza is the only one from the trope in which more than three voices may be heard. Wylkynson's nine-voice setting expands from three to four voices and Browne's second setting begins with three voices, increasing to five voices before ending in a four-part texture. The latter is exceptional for its inclusion of a fully scored passage in a stanza of the trope. Following the three-part texture of the first two lines, the collective response emphasizing the words 'Et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto' is mirrored in the employment of a full five-voice texture. The more varied treatment of the texture in the third stanza in most of the *Salve regina* settings appears to be a means of capturing the listener's attention and prepares the way for the climactic final invocation, 'O dulcis Maria, salve'.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE CANTUS FIRMUS

Examination of the distribution of the cantus firmus and divisions of the *Salve regina* text reveals that the distribution of the underlying text for the plainsong used as a cantus firmus often governs the arrangement of the cantus firmus. This is particularly true of those settings where the complete plainsong is used. The interaction between each chosen portion of cantus firmus text (even though it is not stated) with that of the *Salve regina* text frequently intensifies the sense of the *Salve regina* text. This is especially noticeable in the nine-voice setting by Wylkynson and those by Sutton and Huchyn.

The cantus firmus in Wylkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina*, the Marian antiphon *Assumpta est Maria* (Example 3.6), is always broken up in such a way that a word or phrase from the chant is taken as a musical whole into the cantus firmus, rather than divisions of the cantus firmus occurring within the middle of the associated word or phrase of the chant.⁴²

EXAMPLE 3.6



Assumpta est Maria in celum, gaudent angeli, laudantes benedicunt Dominum.

Mary is taken up into heaven, the angels rejoice, praising and blessing the Lord.

⁴²The symbolic aspects of this composition will be discussed on pp. 124-32.

The Salve Regina Settings

TABLE 3.6 Arrangement of the cantus firmus in Wyllkynson's nine-voice *Salve regina*

<i>Salve regina</i> text	Section	Text of cantus firmus chant	cantus firmus notes
Line 1: <i>Salve</i>	I	Assumpta est Maria in celum	1-11
Lines 1-2: <i>regina - salve</i>	II	Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudent angeli laudantes benedicunt	1-25
Line 3		No cantus firmus	
Lines 4-6: <i>Ad te suspiramus - Et thesum,</i>	III	Assumpta est Maria in celum	1-11
Line 6: <i>benedictum - exsilium</i>		No cantus firmus	
Line 6: <i>ostende</i>	IV	gaudent angeli	12-17
Verse 1: <i>Virgo mater ecclesiae</i>		Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudent	1-14
Verse 1: <i>Aeterna - filium</i>	V	No cantus firmus	
Line 7: <i>O clemens</i>	VI	laudantes	18-21
Verse 2: <i>Virgo clemens, virgo pia</i>	VII	Assumpta est Maria in celum, laudantes bened[icunt]	1-11, 18-23
Verse 2: <i>Virgo dulcis - clamantium</i>	VII/VIII	No cantus firmus	
Line 8: <i>O pia</i>	IX	benedicunt Domi[num]	22-27
Verse 3: <i>Funde - vulnerato</i>	X	No cantus firmus	
Verse 3: <i>Et pro nobis - potato</i>	XI	Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudent angeli laudantes benedicunt Dominum	1-28
Line 9: <i>O dulcis Maria, salve.</i>	XII	Assumpta est Maria in celum gaudent angeli laudantes benedicunt Dominum	1-28

In the first 'salve' section, the cantus firmus notes associated with the words 'Assumpta est Maria in celum' - are heard, coupling the idea of Mary taken up into heaven with the 'hail' of the *Salve regina* text. A complete statement of the cantus firmus is heard in the triplex in the penultimate section, XI, with the second half of the third trope stanza. The effect of this highly unusual treatment is to draw the cantus firmus into the foreground, so that its audibility is unquestionable. In addition, it intensifies the emphasis placed on the return of the cantus firmus to the tenor in the subsequent, final section in which the complete chant is stated together with the words of the last invocation, 'O dulcis Maria, salve'. The similarities between mensuration, texture and melodic material between this section and the opening one point to an intentionally symmetrical design, if not also a rhetorically conceived one. The effect of the combination of the two texts is to add a further dimension to that of *Salve regina*, associating Mary's assumption into heaven with the antiphon's appeal for intercession.

The Salve Regina Settings

Links between *Salve regina* and a cantus firmus are even more obvious in Sutton's seven-voice setting. The cantus firmus, *Libera nos, salva nos* (Example 3.7), is divided so that text phrases from the chant complement those of the *Salve regina* (Table 3.7):

EXAMPLE 3.7

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
Li - be - ra nos sal - va nos iu - sti -

26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53
- fi - ca - nos O be - a - ta tri - ni - tas.

TABLE 3.7 Arrangement of the cantus firmus in Sutton's *Salve regina*

<i>Salve regina</i> text	Section	Text of cantus firmus chant	cantus firmus notes
Lines 1-2	I	No cantus firmus	
Lines 3-4	II	Libera nos, salva nos, iustifica nos, O beata Trinitas	1-53
Line 5	III	No cantus firmus	
Line 6: Et ivesum		Libera nos	1-9
Line 6: benedictum - exsilium	III	No cantus firmus	
Line 6: ostende		salva nos	10-20
Verse 1	IV/V	No cantus firmus	
Line 7: O clemens	VI	iustifica nos	21-30
Verse 2	VII/VIII	No cantus firmus	
Line 8: O pia	IX	O beata Trinitas	31-53
Verse 3	X/XI	No cantus firmus	
Line 9: O dulcis Maria, salve	XII	Libera nos, salva nos, iustifica nos, O beata Trinitas	1-53

Following the complete statement in the first section, the cantus firmus is divided in such a way that the first nine notes, associated with the words 'Libera nos' ('deliver us'), are combined with those of *Salve regina*, 'and Jesus'. The next part of the cantus firmus, associated with the words 'salva nos' ('save us'), is set against 'ostende' ('reveal'). Therefore, it appears that Sutton amplifies the meaning of the *Salve regina* text by adding to it those layers represented by 'deliver us' and 'save us' which are unheard, but are associated with the underlying antiphon text. The emphasis that is placed on the words 'Et

Ihesum' and 'ostende' by the formal divisions that occur in most of the *Salve regina* settings in E at these points of the text is further extended in Sutton's setting by the employment of particular portions of *Libera nos, salva nos*.

In Huchyn's setting the appearance of the cantus firmus (the Marian antiphon *Ne timeas Maria*, Example 3.8) in section IV, has the effect of reinforcing the idea of the revelation of Jesus, Mary's Son, in the *Salve regina* text (Table 3.8). In this section, the second half of the antiphon, notes 30 to 55, that are associated with the words 'ecce concipies et paries filium alleluia' ('behold, thou shalt conceive and bear a Son, Alleluia'), is coupled with the *Salve regina* text, 'Et Ihesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exsilium ostende' ('And Jesus, the blessed fruit of thy womb, reveal to us after this our exile'). Furthermore, the cantus firmus is introduced in this section with the setting of the word 'ostende' ('reveal'), thus linking both 'ecce' ('behold') from the antiphon's text, and 'show' from the *Salve regina* text.

EXAMPLE 3.8



TABLE 3.8 Arrangement of cantus firmus in Huchyn's *Salve regina*

<i>Salve regina</i> text	Section	Text of cantus firmus chant	cantus firmus notes
Line 1	I/II	No cantus firmus	
Lines 2-4	II	Ne timeas Maria invenisti gratiam apud Dominum	1-28
Line 6: Et Ihesum	III	[Dom]num	(29)
Line 6: ostende	IV	ecce concipies et paries filium alleluia.	30-55
Verse 1	V	No cantus firmus	
Line 7: O clemens	VI	Ne timeas Maria inven[isti]	1-15
Verse 2	VII/VIII	No cantus firmus	
Line 8: O pia	IX	[inven]isti gratiam apud Dominum	16-29
Verse 3	X/XI	No cantus firmus	
Line 9: O dulcis Maria, salve	XII	[Dom]num ecce concipies et paries filium alleluia.	29-56

With the two invocations, 'O clemens' and 'O pia', Mary is simultaneously addressed by the words 'O merciful' and 'O holy' from the *Salve regina* text and also the words 'Fear not Mary thou hast found favour with the Lord', associated with the two segments of the chant that are set against the invocations. Moreover, notes 16 to 19 of the cantus firmus, associated with the chant words 'invenisti gratiam' ('have found favour'), are constantly reiterated at the beginnings of sections that make specific references to the virgin: sections II, 'regina mater', V, 'virgo mater', VII, 'virgo clemens', and also XI 'et pro nobis'. The last of these does not refer specifically to the Virgin; however, an additional meaning might well be extended here so that the words of the chant, 'has found favour', now encompass the appeal from mankind expressed by the words of the *Salve regina* text, 'And for us'.

ASPECTS OF MODE IN THE ETON SALVE REGINA SETTINGS

The expansion from three- and four-part textures to predominantly five-part ones, coupled with the extension of the overall ambitus to three octaves, is a prominent feature of the Eton compositions. The inclusion of the number of notes signifying the range in each composition in the index on fol. a1^r affirms this interest in overall ambitus.⁴³ Many of the compositions in E are written with F or G as the root of their final chords, corresponding to the use of a three-octave ambitus in which these notes represent the lowest extremes. Compositions that have A, c or d as the root of the final chord tend to be found among compositions by the later composers (exemplified by Davy's *In honore summae matris*, Wylynson's second *Salve regina* setting and Browne's two *Stabat virgo mater Christi* settings), possibly suggesting that they took a broader approach to questions of modality when compared with their earlier associates. However, a seven-part setting of *Gaude flore virginali* by Kellyk, one of the earlier composers represented in E, also has a twenty-three note compass with c as the root of the final chord, and Lambe's setting of *Salve regina* similarly has d as the root of the final chord and a twenty-two note compass.

Plainsongs chosen as cantus firmi in E are almost entirely classified in modes 5 to 8, that is, in modes with F and G finals. Mode 1 plainsongs are rarely encountered as cantus firmi; Lambe's incorporation of the corresponding mode 1 antiphon for his *Salve regina* setting is exceptional. In Lambe's composition, the appearance of d as the root of the final chord reflects his use of a mode 1 antiphon as the cantus firmus, whereas several compositions by the younger composers that have d as the root of the final chord are ones that do not employ a cantus firmus and therefore, are not influenced by melodic characteristics of a pre-existent plainsong. Transposed D mode, with G final is also

⁴³The designation of the compass also appears in R at the top of the anonymous *Gaude virgo mater Christi* setting on fol. 107^v.

apparent from pieces that have *G* as the root of their final chords and a *B*[♭] signature in the tenor part.

The desire to adhere to the modal propriety of chants selected as cantus firmi in *E* may be seen in the reluctance to transpose plainsongs from their notated appearances in liturgical books. In Browne's first setting, the final 'salve' (notes 39 to 46 from the cantus firmus associated with the antiphon text '[im]pleta est'), is treated as a point of imitation between four of the five voices in a manner similar to the final section of his four-part *Stabat virgo mater Christi* (see p. 62). Initially, the segment from *Maria ergo unxit* is transposed down a fifth so that it begins in the bassus on *d*. It is then stated an octave higher, on *d'* in the contratenor, before being taken up by the tenor a fourth below - that is, at the true cantus firmus notated pitch - and is finally stated by the triplex an octave higher than the tenor. Therefore, in this passage, it may be considered that the bassus and contratenor voices and tenor and triplex voices appear to be operating in modally contiguous pairs. Each pair presents the same portion of the cantus firmus melody, but beginning on notes a fifth apart, suggesting possibly incipient authentic - plagal distinctions of a modal octave.

Upwards transposition by an octave is encountered fairly often with elaborated presentations of the cantus firmus in the triplex, and is in keeping with techniques of treating the cantus firmus seen in earlier compositions of this type in England. In Wylynkson's nine-voice *Salve regina, Assumpta est Maria* is especially noticeable as a structural cantus firmus statement in the triplex, the highest of a complex of voices, in the penultimate section. Embellished cantus firmus statements that are transposed up a fifth from *f* to *c'* final are included in the medius on several occasions, the most notable of these is the almost complete statement that occurs with lines 1 to 2 of the text (bars 7-17, see Example 2.4, p. 33), following the opening 'salve'. This is treated as an anticipatory statement to the first complete structural statement in the tenor (beginning bar 29). A further brief transposed reference is made in the medius with 'O clemens' (bars 105-7). An allusion is also made to the notes from the chant associated with 'laudantes benedicunt' in the secundus bassus at the beginning of section III (bars 22-5) transposed down an octave from the original notated chant pitch.

Mostly, the melodic lines of voices without cantus firmus extend over a wide ambitus in Wylynkson's *Salve regina*, often exceeding an octave. Whilst the openings of melodies or the intervals of imitation are sometimes suggestive of the prevailing modality, the rapidity with which melodies appear to assume new structurally significant notes means that these markers are relatively unhelpful in defining the modality of this *Salve regina*. There is no possibility of adequately describing such constantly evolving melodies in the theoretical modal terminology (whereby initial and final notes, imitative intervals, ambitus and melodic procedure are indicative of mode). More emphasis is placed on triadic

The Salve Regina Settings

occurs particularly in this stanza in the *Salve regina* settings by Davy (bars 155-6) and Lambe (bar 151, Example 3.10).

EXAMPLE 3.10

Brygeman

tu - o ma - ri Cra - ti - fi - ca, mal - ne - re

Davy

tu - o ma - ri Cra - ti - fi - ca, mal - ne - re

Lambe

tu - o ma - ri Cra - ti - fi - ca, mal - ne - re

Sutton does not move to the soft hexachord for stanza 3; however, he does make considerable use of the flattened seventh E^b in the final section in a most unusual manner with the melody of the bassus vacillating continually between E^b and F .

CADENCES

The earlier Eton composers tend to restrict the notes on which the principal cadences are made to the final and fifth of the prevailing mode. Harmonic differentiation between the first six lines of the text (ending with the word 'ostende') and the trope stanzas may be evident from the use of cadences on the fifth and final. In Lambe's setting on the mode 1 *Salve regina* antiphon, the only cadence not formed on D is that for 'ostende' at the end of line 6, which falls on A. This divides the eleven-section composition symmetrically at the end of the sixth section and separates the *Salve regina* text from that of the trope by harmonic means. Similarly, in Horwood's setting, *g* is the root of the last chord at the ends of line 6 and 9, as well as for the invocations in lines 7 and 8; these are contrasted with cadences on *d* formed at the ends of sections within the trope stanzas. Hygons also restricts his principal cadences to these notes, with the cadences at the ends of lines 6 and 9 falling on *g*. However, unlike Horwood, cadences at the end of the trope stanzas are formed on *g*, with the contrast between fifth and tonic reserved for the invocations, lines 7 and 8 (and also on the words 'salve' and 'valle' in lines 2 and 4). Presented with the difficulty of introducing a cantus firmus beginning on *b*² (the first note of the 'caput' melisma), Hygons provides a solution with its initial appearance in a cadential passage (bar 31). The first note then becomes the third in a chord on *g* and the cadence is formed by the movement to a chord on *d* with the word 'salve'. An unusual feature of the principal cadences on D in this setting is the use of *f*[#]. Among the earlier composers there is a preference for *f*² in such cadences.

In the two settings by Browne, the division of the text into predominantly ten to twelve musical sections as observed in most *Salve regina* settings in E is abandoned in favour of settings with five and six sections. In the second setting, the number of sections is reduced, permitting the articulation of key structural points in the text: on the words 'Thesum', 'ostende', 'O clemens', 'O pia' and 'O dulcis Maria, salve'. An extra division is inserted following the last trope stanza, with the effect that the final acclamation is treated in a section of its own. Once again, relationships between fifth and tonic are noticeable, with the root of the last chord, *c*, contrasting with that of *f* with the word 'ostende'. Both this setting and his first one use mode 6 antiphons as their cantus firmi and this is reflected in the polyphonic context by the use of cadences that fall largely on C, F and B¹. In the first setting, a cadence on A, the normal recitation tone in mode 6, occurs with the setting of the second 'salve', while in the second setting, variety is introduced with the unusual inclusion (in this polyphonic context) of a cadence on *d* at the end of line 7.

Among the later composers, variety in cadential schemes is evidently a new development. It is established in Cornysh's *Salve regina* setting (which is not on a cantus firmus, but the mode of its tenor appears to be that of the transposed D mode with G final),

particularly with the employment of cadences on *d'* ('misericordiae') *B*¹ (second 'salve') *g* ('converte') *e*¹ ('Et Ihesum') and *c* ('ostende') in the first main part of the text (lines 1-6). The cadences in the subsequent sections are formed on either *F*, *G* or *C*. Therefore, in this setting, the more varied cadential pattern coincides with the completion of the first six lines of the *Salve regina* text, thus differentiating this part of the text from the trope stanzas and invocations that follow. Davy adopts a similar approach to the planning of cadences in his setting on a cantus firmus that has not yet been identified, but has *g* as its final. Cadences are formed on *G* ('first 'salve'), *B*¹ ('second 'salve'), *c* ('Ihesum') and *A* ('ostende') in the first part of the text; however the cadences in the eight sections that follow all fall on *G*, except for one on *c* at the mid-point of the second trope stanza and one on *d* (with *f* third) at the end of the invocation 'O pia'. Although greater variety is infused into the cadential schemes of the later composers, suggesting new approaches to harmonic questions, the distinction between the first part of the *Salve regina* text and the troped second part made by their elder colleagues, continues to be observed in these settings.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TEXT AND MUSIC IN THE *SALVE REGINA* SETTINGS

Clarification and projection of the sense of the *Salve regina* text was evidently a most important compositional consideration in the settings in *E*. The integration of a cantus firmus is an extremely important adjunct to processes that elucidate the structure and meaning of the text. The structural cantus firmus is almost invariably stated in fully scored passages, with the result that the three invocations are differentiated from the trope stanzas not only by sectional divisions and textural variations but also by the presence of a cantus firmus.

The Marian aspect of the *Salve regina* text is often amplified by the selection of a certain plainsong as the cantus firmus. The text associated with the latter frequently complements and expands the sense of *Salve regina*. Plainsongs in which Mary is central - *Ne timeas Maria* and *Maria ergo unxit* - and particularly those proper to the feast of the Virgin's Assumption, are clearly chosen to resonate with the Marian theme of *Salve regina*. Even where thematic links are less direct, as with *Libera nos, salva nos*, in Sutton's setting, the arrangement of the cantus firmus is managed in such a way that complete phrases from the cantus firmus may be synthesized with similar ideas in the *Salve regina* text.

As well as being attentive to the structure of the *Salve regina* text, particular words in the *Salve regina* text are emphasized by way of certain musical procedures. In the *Salve regina* settings in *E*, the words 'Et Ihesum' almost invariably receive special treatment. These words are further distinguished in the settings by Horwood, Huchyn and Fayrfax, by their syllabic declamation in a series of three or four chords, each notated with a

fermata. The isolation of the name 'Ihesu' by similar means is also apparent in other compositions in E: Lambe's *Stella caeli*, Holyngborne's *Gaude virgo salutata*, Wylynson's *Salve decus castitatis* and Turges's four- and five-part *Gaude flore virginali* settings. The compositional decision to emphasize significant names - particularly 'Ihesu', 'Christe' and 'Maria' - is a recurrent feature of fifteenth-century settings of the Mass Ordinary; however, this practice is more obvious in continental compositions than it is among English ones. Amid the settings of the Gloria and Credo in OH, informal separation of the words by means of a cadential move in some but not all parts is a more commonly encountered procedure than the use of fermata chords.⁴⁴ Occasionally, the words are used to complete a section of the composition as in the Gloria settings by Damett and Cooke.⁴⁵ This is also sometimes found in Dunstable's settings of the Gloria; however, such careful attention to the names 'Ihesu' and 'Maria' is neither a feature of Leonel Power's settings of the Mass Ordinary, nor of English settings from the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Cox's Mass *Sine nomine* in Br contains one of the relatively few examples in which the name 'Ihesu Christe' is set in a cadential manner.⁴⁷ Similarly, English polyphonic settings of *Salve regina* prior to those found in E do not distinguish the words 'Et Ihesum' from the surrounding text by setting them in chords, or treating them in a cadential fashion. The only mid-fifteenth-century English *Salve regina* in which the words 'Et Ihesum' are especially noticeable is that in Tr90 (fols 305v-306r), where a chord and fermata are employed for the final syllable of 'Ihesum'.⁴⁸ The simple homophonic manner used in setting 'Et Ihesum' is highly characteristic of continental *Salve regina* settings from the late fifteenth century.⁴⁹ The chordal treatment of 'Et Ihesum' in the Eton *Salve regina* settings is unlikely to have warranted improvisatory embellishment; however, the appearance of notes added on a staff above the words 'Et Ihesum' in a 1523 Sarum Processional may suggest that the possibility of such treatment cannot be discounted entirely.⁵⁰

⁴⁴The chordal approach is used in Byttinger's Gloria, OH, fols 13v-14r, CMM 46, no. 17.

⁴⁵OH, fols 9v-10r (CMM 46, no. 13) and fols 10v-11r (CMM 46, no. 14) respectively.

⁴⁶A setting of the Gloria ascribed to Dunstable in manuscript I-Bu 2216, pp. 24-25 makes a further distinction between the words 'Ihesum Christe' and the following section by changing the mensuration in the new section: MB 8, no. 3.

⁴⁷Br, fols 20v-30r (EECM 34, no. 4).

⁴⁸By comparison with their English counterparts, continental composers tend to isolate 'Ihesu Christe' in settings of the Mass Ordinary far more frequently, exemplified by the cadence made on 'Christe' in the Gloria of Ockeghem's *Missa Au travail suis* and Credo in *Missa L'homme armé*. As well, the syllabic setting of the words in a chordal fashion, accompanied by fermata signs, is seen fairly often among Binchois's settings of the Gloria, such as 3a and 16: *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, 31-6 and 98-103 respectively.

⁴⁹Ingram, 'The Polyphonic *Salve regina*', 104-6 and 143. In these settings it is more common for 'Et Ihesum' to appear at the beginning rather than the end of a section, for example Josquin's five-part *Salve regina*.

⁵⁰GB-Ob 4^o, W59, Th, fol. clxxiii^r. Above the four notes normally assigned to 'Et Ihesum', d-A-c-d, the notes d-g-f-g-a-f-e-d have been added and may be fitted in counterpoint with the plainsong 'Et Ihesum' notes.

The exclamation 'salve' ('hail') occurs three times in the text and in most compositions either the first or second 'salve' (and sometimes both) is highlighted. The word may be allocated a section of its own, or else contrasts between reduced and full-voice textures distinguish it from the surrounding text. The words 'salve' and 'Ihesum' are sometimes prominent because cadences are formed on them on notes that are unusual in terms of the prevailing mode. For example, the second 'salve' in Cornysh's setting (which has G as the root of its last chord and uses the transposed D mode idiom) cadences on B \sharp , whilst 'Et Ihesum' cadences on e \sharp . Similarly, the only cadence on B \sharp in Sutton's *Salve regina* occurs with the words 'Et Ihesum'.

The juxtaposition of the words 'exsilium ostende' ('exile, reveal'), from line 6 of the *Salve regina* text, provides an opportunity within the settings on a cantus firmus to 'replicate' musically the sense of the text. In four settings - those by Sutton, Huchyn, Wylkynson (first setting) and Browne (second setting) - the cantus firmus is present until the word 'exsilium', at which point it is omitted or 'exiled'. The readmission or 'revelation' of the cantus firmus coincides with the word 'ostende' (Example 3.11).

EXAMPLE 3.11

Browne (second setting)

The image shows a musical score for Browne's second setting of the Salve Regina. It consists of two systems of staves, each with four parts: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The notation is in mensural style with square notes. Latin lyrics are written below the staves. The first system covers the text 'Et exsilium ostende' and the second system covers 'Et Ihesum'. The score illustrates the 'exile' of the cantus firmus at 'exsilium' and its 'revelation' at 'ostende'.

In the first settings by Wylkynson and Browne, this procedure is also observed with the earlier occurrence of the word 'exsules' (line 3) as a possible representation of the 'exiled

Fermata-held chords are used in Browne's carol *Jesu, mercy, how may this be* (GB-Lbl Add. 5465, fols 53 ν -58 ν , MB 36, no. 51) at the beginning of stanza 3 with the words 'Ah, Jesu!' (bars 93-4) and there are several times when the first syllable of 'Jesu' is also treated in this way.

sons of Eve'. An English precedent for treating this part of the text in a special way may be found in Leonel Power's *Salve regina on Alma redemptoris mater*, preserved in Q15.⁵¹ Here, the triplex is omitted for the setting of the word 'exsules' and the melismatic treatment of the word 'ostende' may be considered to be a musical parallel with the *Salve regina* text.⁵²

In nearly every setting in E, attention is drawn by musical means to the words 'illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte' ('turn those merciful eyes of yours upon us') from line 5. This is accomplished in a number of ways. In Cornysh's *Salve regina* the three-voice texture used in the setting of the preceding text, 'Eia ergo advocata nostra' ('Therefore, O thou our advocate'), is reduced to two voices (retaining the triplex and medius) in the subsequent passage, 'illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte'. Musical treatment that serves to focus attention on this passage includes the employment of *b⁴*, the highest note in the piece for the first note of the triplex with the setting of the word 'oculos' and imitation (Example 3.12). Considerable rhythmic variety and figurative writing characterize the long melismatic melodies on 'converte', with the descending and ascending scale in the triplex extending over a range of a tenth.

EXAMPLE 3.12

The image shows a musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". It is a three-part setting for voices (Soprano, Alto, and Tenor/Bass) and piano. The score is written in 2/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in English and German. The music includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* (pianissimo) and *ppp* (pianissimissimo). The score is divided into two systems, with the first system ending at measure 12 and the second system starting at measure 13. The lyrics are written below the vocal staves, and the piano accompaniment is written on the grand staff (treble and bass clefs).

As with Cornysh, Hacomplaynt reduces a three-part texture to a two-part one with 'illos tuos' and features imitation between the parts. Rhythmic intricacies and particularly the triplet resolution at the cadence highlight the text. Lambe's setting also ensures that the plea to 'turn those merciful eyes of yours upon us' is heard (Example 3.13). The words 'misericordes oculos' are stated three times, each time with a different scoring. The first statement (bars 53-5) is given by the medius and contratenor, with the triplex melody descending from *f* to *g*[#] with the words 'illos tuos'. This is one of the few occurrences of *g*[#] in E, and in this instance forms the perfect third in a cadence idiomatic of modes with

⁵¹Power, *Collected Works*, I, no. 10.

⁵²Strohm comments that in Leonel Power's setting there is an 'incredibly subtle planning of musical effects': *The Rise of European Music*, 219.

E final, that is, with the lowest part moving by semitone from *f* to *e* (bar 55).⁵³ The words 'misericordes oculos' are then stated in the contratenor, tenor and bassus before a final statement in the triplex, medius and tenor resolving again by semitone movement, this time B \flat to A (bar 59). The repetition of the phrase 'misericordes oculos' by various vocal groupings is a fairly unusual procedure in E, suggesting intentional textual focus. The five-part texture used for the subsequent text, 'Ad nos converte', appears to assume the same function as it does in the third stanza of Browne's second *Salve regina* where the introduction of full texture with the words 'Et pro nobis' emphasizes a collective response (see p. 122, Example 3.16).

EXAMPLE 3.13

The musical score for Example 3.13 consists of two systems of five staves each. The first system (bars 109-112) features the following lyrics: Soprano: 'il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los'; Contratenor: 'il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los'; Triplex: 'il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los'; Medius: 'il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los'; Tenor: 'il - los tu - os mi - se - ri - cor - des o - cu - los'. The second system (bars 60-63) features the following lyrics: Soprano: 'ad nos con - ver - te, E - i Je - su - m, - m, - m'; Contratenor: 'ad nos con - ver - te, E - i Je - su - m, - m, - m'; Triplex: 'ad nos con - ver - te, E - i Je - su - m, - m, - m'; Medius: 'ad nos con - ver - te, E - i Je - su - m, - m, - m'; Tenor: 'ad nos con - ver - te, E - i Je - su - m, - m, - m'.

In Brygeman's *Salve regina* only one voice for the text section 'illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte' survives. Notable features in the melody include the semitone

⁵³Harrison observed that G# is also used in Lambé's *Stella caeli*: MMB, 323, n. 2. The cadence in *Stella caeli* is on the word 'Ihesu' which, as has been seen in the *Salve regina* settings, is often treated in a special way. This cadence marks the end of the penultimate section; the final cadence falls upon *f* and is, therefore, modally removed from the cadence tone of the 'Ihesu' cadence. G#s also occur in an E-mode cadence in the fragmentary *Salve regina* by Brygeman on the words 'Evae', 'et [flentes]' and 'valle' (Dissertation edition, bars 44, 48 and 60 respectively).

inflections at the beginnings of the words 'illos' and 'misericordes' and the sequences in bars 82-5 with the word 'converte'. In Fayrfax's *Salve regina*, the first section of the setting occurs at the end of this word, the cadence formed here incorporating a 6-5 suspension.

The *Salve regina* settings on a cantus firmus also draw attention to the text 'illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte' through manipulation of the cantus firmus. For example, in Wylynkson's nine-voice *Salve regina*, the part of the cantus firmus linked with this passage of the set text is that for the words 'Maria in celum' ('Mary in heaven'). Therefore, the invocation to 'turn those merciful eyes of yours upon us' is directed towards Mary, the subject of the petition. In Hygons's setting, the cantus firmus is present until the word 'nostra'; it is then omitted for 'illos tuos misericordes oculos', re-entering with 'ad nos converte'. Obviously, this passage of text was considered by the Eton composers to be significant, as a variety of musical treatments are used that result in its prominence.

In two settings in E, the word 'ecclesiae' from the first trope stanza is treated in a special way. In Lambe's setting, the distinctly unusual procedure of including a structural cantus firmus in the highest voice (the medius) of a three-part texture for the words 'ecclesiae porta' ensures that the antiphon melody is heard at this point (bars 80-5). This is one of only two instances in the Eton *Salve regina* settings where the cantus firmus is stated in breves in the highest voice. The other occurs in the triplex in the penultimate section of Wylynson's nine-voice setting (see p. 107 above and a further discussion of its possible symbolic implications on pp. 128-9). Finally, in Fayrfax's *Salve regina*, which is not composed on a cantus firmus, the opening five-note gesture from the *Salve regina* antiphon associated with the word 'salve' is quoted transposed up a fourth in the highest voice of a two-part texture with the opening line of the first trope stanza 'Virgo mater ecclesiae' (bars 82-4, Example 3.14). This quotation from the plainsong melody is exposed by its presentation in a simple rhythm and in long note-values.

EXAMPLE 3.14



The words 'exaudi preces' are conspicuous in several settings because they are preceded by a sectional division. Imitation figures prominently as a means by which the invocation to 'hear our prayers' may be emphasized. This is seen in Wylkynson's nine-

statement of *Assumpta est Maria* is heard in the highest voice. In Huchyn's *Salve regina*, notes 16 to 21 from the cantus firmus (*Ne timeas Maria*), associated with the words '[inven]sti gratiam' ('has found favour'), are quoted in the tenor with 'et pro nobis', once again linking the text of *Salve regina* with that of the cantus firmus. Fayrfax's *Salve regina* makes a reference to the opening of the *Salve regina* melody with the words 'et pro nobis flagellato'.

In Browne's second *Salve regina* a full five-voice texture is introduced in the middle of the third trope stanza with the words 'et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto' (Example 3.16). This is the only *Salve regina* in E in which full texture is introduced in a trope stanza and seems to have a rhetorical function in reinforcing the collective appeal, 'And for us'. The text underlay in the trope stanzas is normally written in red ink, confirming that the passage is for reduced forces; however, it may also have indicated that the passage was for solo voices.⁵⁴ If this was so then the five-voice passage in stanza 3 written in black ink may have been intended for the whole choir, thus extending the dramatic presentation of this part of the text.

EXAMPLE 3.16

The musical score for Example 3.16 is a five-voice setting of the text 'et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto'. It is written for Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), Contralto (C), and Bass (B). The score is in E major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written in red ink below the staves. The music features a full five-voice texture, with each voice part having its own melodic line. The text is: 'et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto'. The score is divided into two systems, with the first system covering the first two measures and the second system covering the next three measures. The lyrics are: 'et pro nobis flagellato, spinis puncto'.

Certain cadences appear to acquire rhetorical significance by their choice of cadence tone, melodic movement in the basses (most noticeably in the use of the characteristic E-mode cadence moving from F-E or B \flat -A) or by the use of dissonant suspensions. The words 'Et

⁵⁴See the discussion in chapter 2, n. 59.

Ihesum' are sometimes distinguished by the formation of a cadence on a note that is unusual in the particular modal context.⁵⁵ In the nine-voice setting by Wylkynson, that half F as the root of the final cadence, the only cadence at the end of a section that is formed on A occurs with 'Et Ihesum'. In Sutton's *Salve regina*, the cadence on 'Et Ihesum' occurs on B[♭], the only cadence in the composition to do so; whilst the cadence for 'Et Ihesum' in Cornysh's setting is on the highly irregular cadence note, e[♯]. As well as on 'Et Ihesum', irregular cadences are formed on the words 'salve', 'O pia' and 'potato' in a number of compositions.

The employment of the E-mode cadence (the so-called 'Phrygian' one) is highly unusual in the *Salve regina* settings in E. However, there are two instances in which this type of cadence is used at the close of a section, coinciding with the words 'vulnerato' ('wounded') and 'misericordiae' ('mercy'), in the settings by Huchyn and Cornysh respectively (Example 3.17), suggesting a link between the use of this type of cadence and sombre ideas. The cadential movement that occurs with the words 'ad nos converte' in Sutton's *Salve regina* also proceeds in this manner and appears to reinforce the entreaty expressed in the text, 'turn those merciful eyes of yours upon us'. In all three cases, the E-mode cadence is employed as a means of drawing attention to the sense of the text, and in the Huchyn and Cornysh settings the effect of the cadence is heightened by the use of a 6-5 suspension.

EXAMPLE 3.17

Huchryn

[illegible]

⁵⁵ Judd points to the sole cadence on F (the others are formed on G of D) in Josquin's five-part *Salve regina* with 'exsules' as a harmonically conceived exile: 'Josquin des Prez: *Salve regina*', 121.

Cornish

[illegible]

It would not be possible to leave discussion of the *Salve regina* settings in E without considering the symbolism inherent in the nine-voice setting by Robert Wylkynson. This composition epitomizes the complexities of meaning that arise in the English votive antiphons with a *cantus firmus* in the late fifteenth century. The symbiosis of *Salve regina* and unheard chant texts attains further significance from the incorporation of concepts derived from pseudo-Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy*.

The concept of a hierarchy among the Nine Orders of Angels is not mentioned in the Bible, receiving its first exposition in the writings of Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite c.500. Pseudo-Dionysius devised the Nine Orders of Angels according to the names of the celestial powers mentioned particularly in the Pauline Epistles.⁵⁶ In this hierarchy, the angels were divided into three orders. The highest order consisted of the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones. The second order included the Dominions, Virtues and Powers and the lowest order consisted of the Principalities, Archangels and Angels. Pseudo-Dionysius regarded the process of man's deification as synonymous with the transmission of divine light through the tripartite division in the order of angels. Only through understanding the function of perfection, illumination and purification - the three processes

⁵⁶Ephesians 1: 21 'supra omnem principatum et potestatem et virtutem et dominationem et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc saeculo sed et in futuro.'

Colossians 1: 16 'quia in ipso condita sunt universa in caelis et in terra visibilia et invisibilia sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt.'

that were distributed within each of the three orders - could man hope to imitate God. Pseudo-Dionysius' ideas were transmitted into medieval discussions through the Latin translation of *De Caelesti Hierarchia* by the ninth-century philosopher, Johannes Scotus Eriugena.

Symbolic representation of the Nine Orders of Angels is evident throughout Wylkynson's *Salve regina*, in both iconographic and musical forms. The most immediate connection is the nine-voice scoring. Each of these parts is ascribed to one of the orders of the angels within the decorated initials at the beginning of the setting, as indicated below in Table 3.9. Fol. f4^r is shown in Plate 1 overleaf; however, unfortunately, the names of the angels cannot be easily discerned in this.

TABLE 3.9 Voice designations and corresponding name from the Nine Orders of Angels

Voice	Clef/ signature	Ambitus	Name in initial letter
Quatruplex	G ₂ ^b	e'-g''	Seraphyn (Seraphim)
Triplex	G ₂ ^b	d'-f''	Cherubyn (Cherubim)
Medius	C ₂ ^b	f-b ^b	Troni (Thrones)
Primus Contratenor	C ₄ ^b	c-f'	Dominaciones (Dominions)
Secundus Contratenor	C ₄ ^b	c-f'	Principatus (Principalities)
Tenor	C ₄ ^b	c-d'	Potestates (Powers)
Inferior Contratenor	C ₄ ^b	B ^b -d'	Virtutes (Virtues)
Primus Bassus	F ₄ ^b	F-b ^b	Archangeli (Archangels)
Secundus Bassus	F ₄ ^b	F-b ^b	Angeli (Angels)

Handwritten musical score on aged parchment, featuring ten large, ornate initials in red and black ink. The initials are decorated with intricate patterns and figures. The text is written in a Gothic script, likely Latin, and is interspersed with musical notation on staves. The parchment shows signs of age, including staining and wear.



These initial decorations are paste-downs that were added at a later stage. The verse annotations on fol. f4^r (which do not observe a common metrical form) make the connections between the Celestial Hierarchy and this setting of *Salve regina* explicit:

Antiphona hec Christi laudem sonat atque Marie
Et decus angelicis concinit ordinibus
Qui sunt Angeli, erunt Archangeli et ordo sequetur
Virtutumque potestatum: tunc principatus alter.
Post dominaciones adde tronos cherubynque
Et Seraphyn junges que loca summa tenent.

This antiphon sounds the praise of Christ and of Mary,
and sings honour to the orders of angels.
Those which are Angels will be Archangels, and there follows the order of
Virtues and of Powers; then the other order of Principalities.
After Dominions add Thrones and Cherubim,
and [to these] you will join Seraphim who hold the highest place.

The nine voices are named in the initial letters from approximately highest to lowest ambitus according to the order of the angels from highest to lowest order. Representation of the number 9 - and hence the Order of Angels - is also suggested by the relatively narrow ambitus of the tenor part, which consists of nine notes, from *c* to *d'*. This is the voice which predominantly states the cantus firmus. Having a significant function in the structure of the composition, it is the tenor which is assigned the order of 'Potestates' ('Powers'). In Wylkynson's thirteen-part setting of the Apostles' Creed - a composition also infused with symbolism concerning Christ and his twelve apostles - the ambitus of the tenor melody used is thirteen notes.

The extent to which numerological symbolism permeates Wylkynson's *Salve regina* is open to conjecture. In Wylkynson's setting, the cantus firmus *Assumpta est Maria* consists of twenty-seven notes. The number of notes for the antiphon varies between different liturgical sources. In the fourteenth-century monastic Antiphonal from Peterborough Abbey, Cambridge, Magdalene College, manuscript F. 4. 10 (fol. 270^v), this antiphon consists of thirty-one notes. In the fifteenth-century Sarum Antiphonal *GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299*, fol. 392^r it has twenty-nine notes, whilst in the Antiphonal *GB-Cu Mm. ii. 9*, fol. 248^r (AS 499) it consists of twenty-eight notes.⁵⁷ Comparing Wylkynson's cantus firmus with the version used in AS 499, note 10 from the liturgical

⁵⁷Wylkynson uses as his cantus firmus a version of the chant which does not include the *b* plica which occurs between notes 12 and 13 in some fifteenth-century sources such as *GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299*, fol. 392^r and *GB-Ob Bodl. 948*, fol. 305^r.

source is the only note that is omitted in nearly every presentation of Wylkynson's cantus firmus, with the exception of the elaborated statement in the medius at the beginning of section II when it is included. Note 10 not only repeats note 9 of the AS 499 version but significantly, there is no text underlay for note 10. Note 10 is the only one of several repeated notes in the chant for that there is no underlay and therefore, it is the only note that might conceivably be omitted. Wylkynson may have deliberately chosen to use twenty-seven notes in the cantus firmus because 27 is divisible by nine and hence linked numerically to the Nine Orders of Angels. The number 27 is also perceived to be 'perfection of perfection' because it can be expressed as $3 \times 3 \times 3$ and may be considered as symbolizing the perfection of the Virgin.⁵⁸

Another aspect of the symbolism inherent in this setting may be seen in the appearance three times of the name 'Wylkynson' in the margins of the setting, including the phrase 'Robertus Wylkynson cuius anime propicietur Deus' ('Robert Wylkynson, to whose soul may God be propitious') on fol. f6^r. These additions imply that Wylkynson was dead by the time they were inserted. Written in a Gothic cursive script in the same hand as that for the verse annotations, the names of the angels in the decorations and the text underlay for the whole setting, the commentary on the angels may well have been included by the copyist. The number 3 is symbolic not only for its associations with the Trinity, but in this case it may also indicate the scribe's hope to ensure Wylkynson's attainment of a place in heaven, corresponding to the three stages of spiritual enlightenment. Although it cannot be stated categorically that Wylkynson intended a connection between the angelic hierarchy and this setting of *Salve regina*, the evidence indicates that this was entirely probable.

The text of the antiphon used as the cantus firmus, *Assumpta est Maria*, describes Mary's assumption into heaven accompanied by rejoicing angels and its choice is therefore highly appropriate for use in conjunction with the Nine Orders of Angels symbolism. Art scholars have remarked in connection with the iconographic representation of the Nine Orders, that 'often the Virgin Mary is brought into the centre of this hierarchy'.⁵⁹ This is also apparent in Wylkynson's *Salve regina*. The Marian aspect is immediately evident in the choice of the set text, *Salve regina*. This is reinforced by the selection of the Marian antiphon *Assumpta est Maria* as the cantus firmus and thirdly, by its placement predominantly in the middle of the nine-voice texture.

An examination of the deployment of the cantus firmus in this *Salve regina* demonstrates that divisions in the cantus firmus always coincide with the ends of complete words or phrases in the associated *Assumpta est Maria* text. In considering the symbolic

⁵⁸It has not been possible to replicate Harrison's calculations for the lengths of the cantus firmus statements in this *Salve regina* as presented in *Music in Medieval Britain*, 315.

⁵⁹Tsuji, 'Iconography of the Angels', 516.

aspects of this composition it is pertinent to note that the portion of the structural cantus firmus stated with 'ostende' ('reveal') is that which has the underlying words 'gaudent angeli' ('the angels rejoice') from the *Assumpta est Maria* text. This has the function of extending the meaning of the *Salve regina* text in this passage by synthesizing the idea of the choirs of angels (from the underlying chant text) and 'ostende' from the *Salve regina* text.

It is interesting to consider the highly unusual presentation of the second statement of the cantus firmus from a pseudo-Dionysian viewpoint. The cantus firmus is placed in the triplex in the penultimate section, with the collective appeal 'Et pro nobis flagellato, Spinis puncto, felle potato' ('for our sake, pierced with thorns and given gall to drink') from the third trope stanza. Stated in long notes in the highest voice in the texture, Wylkynson evidently intended that the cantus firmus should be audible in this section. Ordinarily, the cantus firmus is almost never included in parts of the trope in the E settings. Its use here emphasizes and recognizes the collective acceptance that Christ died for the sins of all mankind, and Mary's assumption into heaven is seen to offer the mediation by which man may take advantage of Christ's atonement for humanity's sins. The triplex, the second highest voice in the composition, is designated 'Cherubyn' in its initial letter and, as such, represents the middle choir of angels in the first order: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones. According to pseudo-Dionysian interpretation, the cherubim are associated with the process of illumination:

hope purifies to unity, simplicity and steadfastness; faith illumines to knowledge of things revealed; charity inflames us to perfection.⁶⁰

This coupling of 'knowledge of things revealed' with illumination suggests why Wylkynson may have placed the cantus firmus in the triplex (rather than the Quatruplex). By doing so, the cantus firmus, *Assumpta est Maria*, is revealed; the source of the cantus firmus unmistakable because it is placed in the highest voice of this particular texture and is stated in long notes, a manner of presentation normally associated with the tenor.

The representation of the Nine Orders of Angels and the Virgin Mary is central to the musical conception of Wylkynson's nine-part *Salve regina*. The question of the means by which Wylkynson became acquainted with this concept may now be addressed.

⁶⁰Colet, Introduction to I Corinthians 13: *An Exposition of St Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 137.

WYLKYNSON AND THE CELESTIAL HIERARCHY

The Neoplatonic concept of the Nine Orders of Angels appealed to many medieval writers and the Celestial Hierarchy is mentioned by Hildegard of Bingen, Dante and Boccaccio.⁶¹ Significant commentaries on *De Caelesti Hierarchia* were written by the most famous theologians active in Paris from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, including Hugh of Saint-Victor (d.1141), Thomas Gallis (d.1246), Thomas Aquinas (1224/5-74), Albert the Great (1200-80), Jean Gerson (1363-1429) and Dionysius Cartusienis (1402-71).⁶² Extant manuscripts in Britain attest to the wide dissemination of Dionysius Cartusienis' writings in the fifteenth century, with the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson c. 564, a copy of the earliest surviving redaction of a list of his own works, including a commentary entitled 'Super angelicam hierarchiam sancti Dionisij'.⁶³ However, the most widely read Latin translations of pseudo-Dionysius' writings were those by the fifteenth-century Italian humanists, Traversari and Ficino.

In the fifteenth century there appears to have been a veritable cult of the Nine Orders of Angels in England. The subject may be seen in varied iconographic forms from the late fourteenth century and is witnessed especially in a profusion of iconographic representations dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. The splendid illuminations in the Sherborne Missal, which was probably compiled for the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary at Sherborne c.1396 to 1407, include figures of the Orders of Angels with their names written in scrolls in the margins around the perimeter of music for Trinity Sunday.⁶⁴ They are also listed in an early fifteenth-century devotional collection possibly originating from Penhurst, Kent, and now in the Bodleian Library, MS *GB-Ob* Bodl. 850. On fol. 7^r, a prayer naming the archangels (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel, Sariel, Romiel, Emanuel, Pavachiel) is followed by the names of the Nine Orders of Angels.⁶⁵

⁶¹Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias* 1: 6; Dante, *Paradiso* 28: 124-6, 304; Boccaccio, *Decameron*, the story of King Charles the Old (sixth story, tenth day) 765.

⁶²Dionysius Cartusienis, completed his commentaries on the writings of pseudo-Dionysius by c.1467. His commentaries on *De Caelesti Hierarchia* are found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 12293 and Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek MS VII. 8.

⁶³Other references to Dionysius Cartusienis, or his works, in manuscripts in British libraries are to be found in the fourteenth-century Missal Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh. 1. I; the fifteenth-century manuscripts Edinburgh, University Library, MS 328; London, British Library, MS Arundel 309; London, British Library, MS Burney 355; London, British Library, MS Royal 2. A. II; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS lat. th. e. 29; and the early sixteenth-century manuscript Oxford, St John's College, MS 177: Dionysius Cartusienis, *Opera Selecta*.

⁶⁴Herbert, *The Sherborne Missal*, 276, Pl. XIX.

⁶⁵On the pseudo-Dionysian hierarchy in the sequence *Salve pater dyonisi*, with text and music probably emanating from Saint-Denis in Paris and now preserved in the Missals, *F-Pn* lat. 1107, fols 384^v-385^r (s.xiii) and *GB-Lva* 1346-1891, fols 393^v-394^r (s.xiv) see Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, 277-85.

The early sixteenth-century double hammerbeam ceiling in St Wendreda, March, Cambridgeshire represents figures of angels in three tiers.⁶⁶ Duffy notes that along with several examples of the subject in fifteenth-century glass, other representations of the Nine Orders of Angels occur in wood on the rood-screens in St Michael's, Barton Turf in Norfolk and Southwold in Suffolk.⁶⁷ Two such panels survive from the St Michael's rood-screen (c.1480, see Plate 2) depicting the Orders of Thrones and Archangels. The subject of the Nine Orders of Angels may also be seen in an alabaster altarpiece which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, in the Church of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich and there is another in Norwich Cathedral.⁶⁸

Although purely conjectural, some possible connections between the Nine Orders and Eton College are interesting to explore. John Somerset, Henry VI's physician, who was partly involved in the foundation of both Eton and King's College, was also responsible for the foundation of a chapel, hospital and Guild of St Mary and the Nine Orders of Angels at Brentford End, Middlesex, in the 1440s.⁶⁹ According to Visser-Fuchs and Sutton, the foundation for the chapel was established first, with the provision for a hospital and guild 'to be called "of the nine orders of holy angels" by Syon' following in 1446.⁷⁰

A Latin translation of the pseudo-Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy* by J. Sarazenus is found in the Eton College Library MS 120, fols 253r-258v.⁷¹ This manuscript includes a fifteenth-century entry 'Donum Johannis Borowe quondam socii huius regalis collegii'. According to Emden, this was the John Bonour who was a fellow of Eton College from 1441 until his death in 1467.⁷² The manuscript, which contains miscellaneous tracts by Saints Augustine, Anselm and Bernard, also includes translations of pseudo-Dionysius' *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *Divine Names* and *Mystical Theology*.

The symbolism inherent in the nine-voice *Salve regina* suggests that Wylkynson may have had a personal devotion to angels. Moreover, his interest in angels seems to reappear in the now fragmentary setting of *O virgo prudentissima*.

⁶⁶Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Cambridgeshire*, 355, Pl. 29a.

⁶⁷Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 270-1.

⁶⁸Sheingorn, 'The Te Deum Altarpiece', 172.

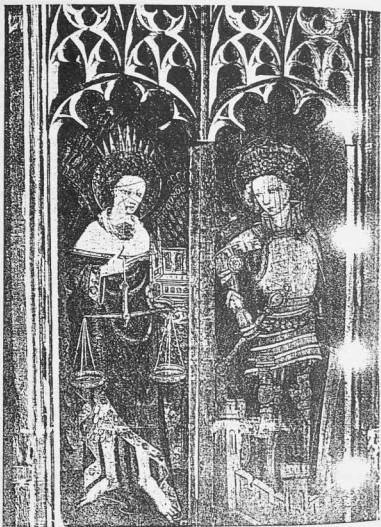
⁶⁹*BRUO* 3, 1728. I am grateful to Livia Visser-Fuchs for generously allowing me to see a typescript of her forthcoming article with Anne Sutton on the Guardian Angel which draws attention to Somerset's foundation of the Nine Orders of Angels at Brentford.

⁷⁰*ibid.*

⁷¹Ker comments that the translation is by Sarazenus. The foliation of the manuscript is not entirely reliable; the reference above has been made to the foliation numbers that are at present on the manuscript.

⁷²*BRUO* 1, 219.

PLATE 2 Screen from Barton Turf Church, Norfolk showing two of the Nine Orders of Angels



East Anglian: Two of the Nine Orders of Angels, from Painted Screen. After 1480.
Each panel approx. 2 ft 3½ in. by 7 in. Barton Turf Church, Norfolk

Reproduced from Rickert: *Painting in Britain*, Pl. 190.

WYLYNINSON'S *O VIRGO PRUDENTISSIMA*

Only one leaf survives from Wylkynton's *O virgo prudentissima*. The text was written by the Florentine humanist Poliziano and appears under the title 'Hymnus' in his *Opera Omnia*, printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1498.⁷³ Three voices remain of this six-voice composition, and only the music for the first four verses of Poliziano's text is extant (transcribed in Appendix III).

It has now proved possible to establish the source of the cantus firmus in Wylkynton's *O virgo prudentissima*. The cantus firmus clearly commences in the tenor part with the opening words, 'Per te tetro carcere', from stanza 4 of the hymn (bar 74). Prior to this stanza, the setting is scored for reduced voices and, as the cantus firmus is rarely stated in such reduced textures in E it seems logical that this is the first statement of it.⁷⁴ The cantus firmus in *O virgo prudentissima* is the Paschal antiphon *Angelus autem Domini* (transposed up a fourth) an antiphon sung at Lauds (Example 3.18).⁷⁵

EXAMPLE 3.18



Angelus autem Domini descendit de caelo:
et accedens revolvit lapidem et sedebat super eum, alleluia, alleluia.

An angel of the Lord descended from heaven;
he came to the stone and rolled it away, and sat himself down on it, alleluia, alleluia.

The choice of this antiphon as the cantus firmus strengthens the proposition that Wylkynton's personal sense of religion involved a particular devotion to the angels. In addition, a reference to 'Chori stupent angelici' at the end of stanza 5 of the text may have appealed especially to Wylkynton:

⁷³RH 13910. Josquin des Prez' six-part setting of *O virgo prudentissima* appears to be the only other musical setting of this text. *Werken*, 3: no. 45, 1-10. Both Elders and Judd incorrectly classify this text as a 'preces': Judd, 'Modal Types and Ut, Re, Mi Tonalties', 432; Elders, 'Short Report of the Third Josquin Meeting with a Proposal for an Ordering of the Works in the New Josquin Edition', 29.

⁷⁴The breves in the tenor part in bars 25-8 do not, for this reason, constitute part of the cantus firmus.

⁷⁵GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fols 138^v-139^r; *Brev* 1, dccciv. The text is St Matthew's Gospel, 28: 2.

Tu stellis comam cingeris
Tu lunam premis pedibus
Te sole amictam candido
Chori stupent angelici.

You garland your hair with stars
the moon with your feet,
the choirs of angels are amazed to see you
clothed in the dazzling sun.

Unfortunately, this part of the text is now lost from Wylkynson's setting. Nevertheless, in view of the choice of cantus firmus and Wylkynson's obvious interest in angels in his nine-voice *Salve regina*, it seems possible that the reference to angels in the text may have inspired his selection of this devotional poem.

The remnants of Wylkynson's setting are divided into two sections by a stroke through each part. Only the first word of the text, 'O', is set in the introductory section and features a point of imitation between the triplex and primus contratenor. Of the seven other surviving compositions in E which have texts beginning with 'O', Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* is the only work in which the word 'O' is treated as a separate section in a manner similar to Wylkynson's *Salve regina* setting (Example 3.19). Davy's introductory section is nine bars in length and features quasi-imitative statements between the contratenor and triplex. As with Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima*, the tenor entry in Davy's setting is delayed. Furthermore, Davy repeats the word 'O' at the beginning of the subsequent section, as does Wylkynson in *O virgo prudentissima*.⁷⁶

EXAMPLE 3.19

Wylkynson: *Salve regina*

[Triplex]
[Tenor]
[Primus Contratenor]
[Tri]
[Ti]
[PC]

⁷⁶In *O Maria plena gratia* and *O regina caelestis gloriæ* Lambe also treats 'O' separately from the rest of the first line before repeating it in conjunction with the whole line; however, there is no formal division into a separate section for this word.

EXAMPLE 3.19 (continued)

Davy: *O Domine caeli terraeque creator*

The image shows a musical score for a five-part setting of 'O Domine caeli terraeque creator'. The staves are labeled from top to bottom: TREBLE (with 'Meas' below), MEAN (with 'Meas' below), COUNTER-TENOR (with 'Counter-tenor' below), TENOR (with 'Tenor' below), and BASS (with 'Bass' below). The music is written in a mensural style with square notes on a four-line staff. There are various musical markings such as '1', '2', '3', '4' above notes, and 'O' below notes. The score is a continuation from a previous page, as indicated by the 'EXAMPLE 3.19 (continued)' label.

Davy was Master of Choristers at Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1490 to 1492. The similarities between the two compositions by Davy and Wylkynson suggest that Wylkynson was familiar with Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* and may, to some extent, have modelled aspects of his own *O virgo prudentissima* on it.⁷⁷

DAVY'S *O DOMINE CAELI TERRAEQUE CREATOR*

According to an annotation written at the end of Davy's *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* in E, this composition was written in one day, during the time that Davy was Master of Choristers at Magdalen College, evidently a feat of some note.⁷⁸ The text is written in praise of Christ and the Trinity and invokes Mary to intercede on the behalf of those 'servants in peril of death'. Such references suggest that the motivation for the composition of *O Domine caeli terraeque creator* may have been the imminent death of someone connected with Magdalen College, the prospect of which would then explain the necessity of its hasty composition.⁷⁹

The discovery of the cantus firmus has proved elusive, with Harrison suggesting that it belonged to the same melodic type as *Iratus rex Saul* and *Beatus Martinus*.⁸⁰ A further

⁷⁷ Further evidence to suggest that Wylkynson was familiar with Davy's compositions is provided by the designation of one of the voices in Wylkynson's six-part setting of the *Magnificat* as 'secundus tenor', an appellation that Benham correctly observes is otherwise used in E only in Davy's six-part *Gaude flore virginali*: *Latin Church Music*, 97.

⁷⁸ E, fol. k6r: 'hanc antiphonam composuit Ricardus Davy uno die collegio magdalene Oxoniis'.

⁷⁹ The order of persons to whom the appeals are made in this text is typical of the deathbed regime, naming Christ initially, followed by the Trinity, Mary and mentioning the Angel Gabriel as well. As the coat of arms of Henry Bost, the provost of Eton College, is included as one of the illuminations (together with those of Magdalen College, Westminster and England) it is also conceivable that the piece was composed following the death of Bost in February, 1504.

⁸⁰ MB 11, 181.

The Salve Regina Settings

possibility may be postulated here. The Lenten antiphon *Simon dormis* bears a close similarity to the cantus firmus as demonstrated below (Example 3.20).⁸¹

EXAMPLE 3.20

Sy - mon dor - mis non po - tu - is - ti u - na
ho - ra vi - gi - la - re me - cum

Simon dormis non potuisti una hora vigilare

Asleep, Simon? Were you not able to stay awake for one hour?

Davy: *O Domine caeli terraeque creator*

First statement of the cantus firmus

in per - so - nis plu - ra - li - tas, U - num fo - re in es -
- sen - ti - a sic est cre - den - da tri - ni - tas, Nos er - go te Do -
mi - ne quem in tri - ni - ta - - - - te

⁸¹Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. cxvii^v. *Brev* dclxxi. The text is St Mark's Gospel, 14: 37.

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EXAMPLE 3.20 (continued)

7 8 9 10 11 12
115

T

Ut cun - ctis hu - ius sae - cu - li de - fen - das pe - ri - cu -

27 28 29 30 31 32
120 125

T

lis, Ut post hu - ius ter - mi - num iun - ga - mur cae - li - co - lis.

Second statement of the cantus firmus

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 10
235

T

Nos i - mi - ta - ri con - do - nes ut te - cum in pa - tri - a Vi - va -

11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19
240 245

T

mus cum gau - di - o in pe - ren - ni glo - ri - a

20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28
250

T

20 21 22 23 24 A

C

29 30 31 32
255 260

T

men.

At present, no specific connections between the set text and the text of *Symon dormis* are apparent and it is probable that this antiphon may have been chosen simply because it was liturgically appropriate for the time of year at which *O Domine caeli terraque creator* was to receive its first performance. Further research is required to explore whether Davy may have influenced the development of Wylkynson's compositional style. Wylkynson a composer who, together with Browne, contributed two settings of the *Salve regina* text to E also appears to have been interested with possible interrelationships between the text of the source chosen as the cantus firmus and the text set polyphonically.

CONCLUSION

Exploration of the ways in which the *Salve regina* text is set in E confirms that the introduction of a cantus firmus is integral to the articulation of the structure of this troped text. Moreover, our understanding of the composer's sense of craftsmanship may be enhanced through this combination of chant and set texts. Compositional conventions evident in these settings further establishes recognized ways of setting the text, as exemplified by the treatment of the words 'Et Ihesum'. The disregard for such conventions - seen in the introduction of the cantus firmus into passages in which a cantus firmus is not normally heard - is also apparently intended to focus attention on specific parts of the text. The acknowledgement of textually generated musical procedures in Josquin's five-part *Salve regina* setting that parallel those employed by a number of Eton composers substantiates the evidence that English composers responded to this text in similar ways.⁸² Harrison recognized that the structure of the *Salve regina* text in the Eton settings is important for determining the disposition of the cantus firmus.⁸³ However, Benham stated that

the connection between words and music in the Eton choirbook is often a very loose one, much of the logic, character and structure of the music being independent of the text rather than allied to it.⁸⁴

These analyses of the *Salve regina* settings have demonstrated that this view may be questioned. Harrison also commented in respect of the relationship between text and music in E that 'the depiction of words by melody has no greater place in medieval polyphony than it had in plainsong'.⁸⁵ He acknowledged the possible depiction of the serpent in

⁸²On this aspect of Josquin's setting, see in particular, Judd, 'Josquin des Prez: *Salve regina* (à 5)', 117-18 and 121.

⁸³Harrison, *MMB*, 313.

⁸⁴Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 59-60.

⁸⁵Harrison, *MMB*, 322.

Fawkyner's *Gaude rose sine spina* but he was concerned primarily with searching for direct musical representations of individual words which are indeed few and far between in this music. As a result of this approach, both he and Benham overlooked the possibility of recognizing the existence of the subtle procedures of an entirely different kind commonly employed by composers in response to the *Salve regina* text.

CHAPTER 4

SETTINGS OF THE MAGNIFICAT IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

INTRODUCTION

The Eton Choirbook lists twenty-four *Magnificat* settings in the index on fol. a1^r, making it the largest-known collection of pre-Reformation polyphonic settings of the text. Those by Horwood, Kellyk, Lambe and Stratford are preserved complete, with a further four settings by Browne, Wylkynson, Sygar and Davy surviving in fragments.¹ The five-part *Magnificat* by Nesbett included in Harrison's edition was taken from the Carvor Choirbook (Car), because only fol. z1^r remains in E. Fayrfax's *Regale Magnificat* is lost from the manuscript; however, several concordances have made it possible to include this setting in the edition. That this is indeed the *Magnificat* by Fayrfax listed for fols aa2^v-aa4^r is affirmed by the annotation 'regale' that is written in a contemporary hand, in the right-hand margin of the index next to the Fayrfax entry.

The *Magnificat* was integral to the Office of Vespers and the text was sung to the canticle tone corresponding to the modal construction of the antiphon that preceded and followed the *Magnificat*. The surviving Eton *Magnificat* settings provide music for only the five even-numbered verses of the text, plus the second verse of the lesser doxology (henceforth referred to as verse 12). The odd-numbered verses were presumably performed in a different manner, the most logical conclusion being that the appropriate plainsong canticle tone was sung. Consequently, an appropriate plainsong canticle-tone intonation for the odd-numbered verses is required for a complete performance of an E *Magnificat*. The process of deciding the correct canticle-tone for the E settings of this text is the central concern of this chapter.

It is now known that the various endings or *differentiae* that were available for each of the eight canticle tones in the Sarum Tonale were employed in many English polyphonic settings. The availability of alternative final notes for each canticle tone means that the pitch of the root in the final chord in a polyphonic *Magnificat* setting cannot be automatically equated with a corresponding modal final. Consequently, certain of the *Magnificat* settings of English provenance have been assigned to diverse canticle tones by scholars endeavouring to identify their tenor, with little attempt to address the problem of how such diversity of opinion arose. An example of the difficulties that arise from the assignment of a canticle tone may be seen in Fayrfax's 'Regale' *Magnificat*, one of the settings listed in the index in E. This *Magnificat* has F as the root of cadences at the end of every polyphonic verse, and since 1949 scholars have assigned it to either canticle tone 6 or canticle tone 8 without querying the discrepancy. That such a famous and well-known

¹The five-part setting by Cornysh in Caius, pp. 112-117 may conceivably be the lost setting by him recorded in the index of E.

Magnificat as *Regale* should be the source of divided opinion is confirmation that correct canticle tone assignment has been somewhat problematic. In the first modern edition of *Regale* in 1949, Anselm Hughes supplied canticle tone 6 for the odd-numbered verses.² This assignment was supported by Reese in his brief comments on the *Magnificat* in 1954.³ With the publication of the 'Regale' *Magnificat* in the *Musica Britannica* edition of E in 1960 Harrison supplied canticle tone 8 beginning on *c* for the intonation. However, in 1961 Warren, citing Dom Anselm Hughes' comments on *Regale*, again assigned tone 6 to this setting.⁴

In a seminal article published in 1962, 'Faburden in Practice', Harrison proposed the idea that many mid-fifteenth- to sixteenth-century English polyphonic settings of the *Magnificat* employed a contrapuntal variation of the canticle tone, rather than the plainsong canticle tone itself as a basis for the composition.⁵ These melodic variations fit in counterpoint with the canticle tones and may have been partly derived in the manner associated with faburden; hence Harrison called them 'faburdens'. With the publication of this article, Harrison assigned the faburden for tone 8 to *Regale* and subsequent comments about this *Magnificat* by Warren and Sandon have iterated that canticle tone 8 is appropriate for *Regale*.⁶

Examination of the counterpoints to the canticle tones (or 'faburdens') is essential for understanding the construction of the English polyphonic *Magnificat* of this period. Correct identification of these counterpoints is fundamental to the correct assignment of an appropriate canticle tone for the verses that are not set polyphonically.

Counterpoints for each of the eight canticle tones in mensural notation with underlay from the *Magnificat* text are notated in several contemporary sources and the contents of each of these sources will be discussed on pp 138-52. The most striking features of these sources are that firstly, the counterpoints are written in mensural notation, often providing versions of melodies in both *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum* for each of the canticle tones; secondly, text underlay, when supplied, is included for only the even-numbered verses - that is, those which are normally set in polyphonic *Magnificat* settings; and thirdly, the counterpoint supplied for each of the several canticle tones in each of the sources is fundamentally constant throughout all the sources. This stock repertory of melodies provides a counterpoint that is, in principle, particular to each of the eight canticle tones. Studies by Harrison, Doe, Sandon and Caldwell have revealed that a large proportion of English *Magnificat* settings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries use these

²The *Regali Magnificat*, ed. Anselm Hughes, 1-14.

³Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, 775.

⁴Warren, 'Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat', 117.

⁵Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice'.

⁶Robert Fayrfax: *Collected Works*, ed. Warren, vii; Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 137.

counterpoints as a melodic basis.⁷ In this chapter, the extant E settings will be analysed to assess the extent to which these contrapuntal melodies are incorporated. The principal sources for these melodies will be identified and a brief discussion of terminology will explain the adoption of the term 'counterpoints' in this study.

MAGNIFICAT COUNTERPOINTS, FABURDENS AND SQUARES

A collection of mensural settings of the even-numbered verses are copied as a single voice and arranged in order of the eight canticle tones, in the manuscript London, British Library, Royal Appendix 56 [RA56].⁸ Flyleaves at the end of the 1528 printed Sarum Hymnal, London, British Library, c. 52. b. 21 [C] provide melodies for all eight tones, whilst a further four flyleaves appended to the front cover of court records for New Romney in the manuscript Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, NR/IB6 [N], supply melodies for six tones.⁹ The contents of these sources are transcribed in Appendix II. An additional mensural setting of canticle tone 1 is found on the flyleaf of a fifteenth-century Gradual of Sarum Use: London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 462, fol. 152^r.

In each of the three main sources (C, RA56 and N), plainsong *differentiae* (the alternative cadential formulae) for each canticle tone in the Sarum Tonale are given in plainsong notation.¹⁰ The plainsong canticle tones and *differentiae* that appear in the *Use of Sarum* are shown in Example 4.1. For convenience, each *differentia* has been assigned a number so that it may be distinguished in the following descriptions of the contents of the sources for the *Magnificat* counterpoints.

Mensural melodies that fit in counterpoint with the plainsong canticle tones are included in these sources for each canticle tone and its *differentiae*, and are written in black void notation. In the Sarum Tonale the number of *differentiae* for each canticle tone varies from one for the sixth canticle tone to nine for canticle tone 1. Accordingly, there are sometimes as many different mensural versions for the *differentiae* in the sources. In RA56 and N, the counterpoints for each *differentia* are also written in two different mensural versions, one each in *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum*.

⁷Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', 20-2; the Preface to *Early Tudor Magnificats I*, ed. Doe, x; Sandon, 'The Henrician Partbooks', 118, and 136-7; and Caldwell, 'Some Aspects of Tonal Language', 20-1 and 24.

⁸Dated c.1523 by Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum*, 1: *Sacred Music*, 205; c.1525 by Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', 20; c.1530 by Sister Thomas More [Mary Berry], 'The Performance of Plainsong', 248; and c.1545 by Trowell, 'Faburden - New Sources', 76.

⁹I am most grateful to Dr Andrew Wathey who first drew my attention to these flyleaves as a possible source of faburdens.

¹⁰Frere's edition of the Sarum Tonale draws upon three Sarum Ordinals: Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 44; Salisbury Cathedral MS 175 (both from the end s.xiv) and GB-Lbl Arundel 130 (s.xv). The canticle tones and corresponding *differentiae* are given in *Use of Sarum*. II: *The Ordinal and Tonal*, ed. Frere, lxvi-lxxi.

EXAMPLE 4.1 The Sarum canticle tones and *differentiae*

Canticle tone 1

Mag - ni - fi - cat: a - ni - ma me - a Do - mi - num.

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us: in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

1.1 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.2 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.3 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

1.4 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.5 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.6 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

1.7 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.8 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 1.9 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

Canticle tone 2

Mag - ni - fi - cat: a - ni - ma me - a Do - mi - num.

Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

2.1 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 2.2 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

Canticle tone 3

Mag - ni - fi - cat: a - ni - ma me - a Do - mi - num.

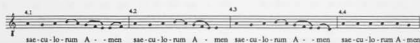
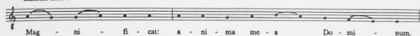
Et ex - ul - ta - vit spi - ri - tus me - us: in De - o sa - lu - ta - ri me - o.

3.1 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 3.2 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 3.3 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

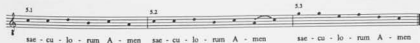
3.4 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 3.5 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men 3.6 sae - cu - lo - rum A - men

Settings of the Magnificat

Canticle tone 4



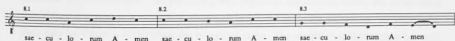
Canticle tone 5



Canticle tone 6



Settings of the Magnificat



When Harrison drew attention to the melodies in RA56 he called them 'faburdens'. A specific connection between the term 'faburden' and *Magnificat* is made in very few contemporaneous sources, although interestingly, one of these was made by a fellow of Eton College. In 1462 'William Wey, Fellow and sometime Precentor of Eton College' recorded that several hymns, antiphons and responsories, and also the *Magnificat*, were sung in 'faburden' by his group of pilgrims in the 'account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land':

...xxj die Julii equitavimus Bethleem, et xxij die Julii equitavimus ad montana Judee, et prope locum ubi sancta Maria salutavit Elisabet cantabamus in honore Dei et beate Marie *Magnificat* in faburthou.¹¹

the twenty-first day of July we rode to Bethlehem and the twenty-second day of July we rode to the mountains of Judea, and near to the place where Mary greeted Elizabeth we sang a *Magnificat* in faburden in honour of God and St Mary.

The paucity of extant English treatises on composition from the fifteenth century may have contributed to the lack of references to faburden. Therefore, interpretations by modern scholars regarding the construction, employment and performance of faburden have been acquired from a small number of sources. The anonymous 'Sight of Faburden' treatise that appears in London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 763, fol. 116^r-116^v, copied by John Wylde in the mid-fifteenth century, provides the most detailed description of faburden technique that exists today.¹²

According to the Wylde treatise, the essential elements for the construction of a faburden were as follows: the plainsong was placed in the middle voice, the faburdener would then imagine pitches a third above, or in unison with, the plainsong 'in Sight' and then sing 'in Voice' a fifth below the imagined notes. The resultant melody lying beneath the plainsong in thirds and fifths was termed the 'faburden'. The faburden normally opened and closed in fifths below the plainsong; the progression within a phrase was predominantly in consecutive thirds, interspersed with fifths (consecutive fifths were eschewed). A third voice was added a fourth above the plainsong, either duplicating the plainsong melody, or supplying a melody that was independent of both plainsong and faburden. The treatment resulted harmonically in successions of $\frac{6}{3}$ chords interpolated with

¹¹Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', 24-5. The earliest-known reference to the term 'faburden' is made by Richard Cliffe in a letter to the Prior of Durham, probably written between 1427 and 1432; Trowell, 'Faburden and Fauxbourdon', 71. Another reference to faburden emanating from Durham Cathedral Priory is made in John Stele's indenture of 1430: Bowers, 'Choral Institutions', A056.

¹²The treatise is attributed to the Englishman Chileston by Riemann, *Musiklexicon*, vol. 1, 493 and subsequently Pseudo-Chileston by Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, 400, n. 76. The text of the treatise, and an interpretation of it appeared in Trowell's 'Faburden and Fauxbourdon', 47-8.

⁸ chords, the latter occurring especially at the beginnings and ends of phrases. The term 'faburden' may have been originally applied only to the lowest voice, the elaboration of the plainsong, but eventually came to refer to the whole complex of three voices and the technique itself.

Faburden treatment is frequently evident from the addition of notes in thirds and fifths (that is, 'in Sight'), indicated above a chant on the same staff either by notes, lightly sketched dots or possibly, in one source, short strokes.¹³ The latter represents common faburden treatment towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century wherein the melody of the lowest voice in a three- or four-part complex created by improvisatory techniques came to exist as an entity in its own right and has been called by Harrison the 'faburden' of a chant. As such, faburden melodies were incorporated in written polyphonic compositions most often in the tenor voice.

Several scholars have referred to the counterpoints to the canticle tones in RA56 and C as 'faburdens', most notably Harrison, Berry, Trowell, Doe and Sandon. Reservations were expressed by Berry and Eaton about the validity of using this term in connection with the *Magnificat* counterpoints because some of the mensural counterpoints, and particularly that associated with canticle tones 1 and 6, do not adhere strictly to the principles of faburden as explained by the theorists. In some senses, these melodies may also be called 'squares'.¹⁴ The modern term 'square' has been adopted from contemporary references of payments for books of 'squarenote' and also from the title 'upon the square' assigned to three Masses by Mundy and Whitbroke in the Gyffard Partbooks.¹⁵ The Masses 'upon the square' use melodies associated with monophonic mensural settings underlaid with the texts of the Kyrie and Sanctus found on flyleaves of *GB-Lbl* Lans. 462 (fols 1^v and 151^v-152^r). Some of these melodies occur as the lowest voice in polyphonic compositions, most notably discant settings dating from OH and LoF.¹⁶ Therefore, 'squares' were possibly derived from the lowest part of written discant compositions and were integrated later in polyphonic compositions. Conversely, 'faburdens' originated from

¹³Mary Berry identified several sources of faburdens: 'The Performance of Plainsong', 248. The manuscript *GB-Ob* Digby 167 replaces note-heads by strokes on fol. 31^v, a three-part setting of the hymn *Aeterne rex altissime*.

¹⁴Eaton concurs with Doe's views (stated in a private communication to Eaton) that in the sixteenth century, tenor-voice melodies from three- and four-part faburdens are used as entities in their own right and are, therefore, very similar to 'squares': 'The Origins of Cantus Firmus', 51.

¹⁵Baillie and Harrison cite several sources from the late fifteenth century of records of payment for books of 'squarenote': 'Squares', 180, and *MMB*, 186-7 respectively. Further references to 'squarenote' are included in Wathey's description of *GB-On* 7, fols 299^r-300^r, in Bowers and Wathey, 'New Sources of English Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Polyphony', 332-3, n. 62.

¹⁶See, for example, the melody of the lowest voice in the paired Gloria and Credo settings by Damett (OH, fols 33^v-34^r, no. 39 and 79^v-80^r, no. 93 respectively) which is used as a Kyrie square in Ludford's *feria iij* Mass in *GB-Lbl* Roy. App. 45-8. The anonymous Sanctus in OH, fol. 84^v, no. 101 has a concordance with LoF, fol. 11^r ('Fountains', no. 9) and is the fifth Sanctus given in *GB-Lbl* Lans. 462, fol. 1^v.

the lowest voice of *improvised* polyphony, with strict rules governing the intervallic relationship between the lowest part and the plainsong above. Nevertheless, it is evident that whatever the original impetus for their conception, by the last quarter of the fifteenth century melodies written in the tenor range were circulating separately as monophonic mensural entities and were being recurrently employed in the tenor, functioning either as the lowest part or in the middle of polyphonic compositions.¹⁷ Similarly, mensural counterpoints exist for the *Magnificat* tones and are found in manuscripts dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. In contradistinction to true faburdens, the mensural melodies for the *Magnificat* fit most readily above the plainsong rather than below. Therefore, rather than attempting to prove conclusively whether the *Magnificat* melodies were derived from techniques more closely aligned to either 'faburdens' or 'squares', it is perhaps more constructive to view the *Magnificat* melodies simply as counterpoints to the canticle tones that were employed as a pre-compositional starting point for a number of English polyphonic settings of the *Magnificat* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Familiarity with the counterpoint melodies to the canticle tones is necessary for understanding how the E *Magnificat* settings were composed. The recognition of a counterpoint and its corresponding 'ending' or *differentia* is essential for correct canticle-tone assignment. Therefore, before the E settings are analysed, the contents of the three principal sources for counterpoints will be discussed on pp. 148-56.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, c. 52. b. 21

The Sarum Hymnal London, British Library, c. 52. b. 21 [C], printed in Antwerp in 1528 by Christopher Ruremond, incorporates a collection of mensural melodies for the *Magnificat*.¹⁸ These are found on flyleaves bound into the hymnal - fols 191^r-197^v - on hand-ruled (with a rastrum) staves. A transcription of these is included in Appendix II. The melodies are ordered sequentially from tone 1 to tone 8 and are shown with text underlay from verse 2 in Example 4.2. For every tone, plainsong *differentiae* are included,

¹⁷Baillie was cautious about including the mensural *Magnificat* melodies in the 'square' category, and also stated that no analogy could be found between 'squares' and faburdens: 'Squares', 186. However, Bent maintains that written faburden should be included with 'squares', and exemplifies her argument with the lowest voice of the discant setting of the *Magnificat* in GB-Cu Kk. i. 6: 'Square', 29.

¹⁸The presence of faburdens in this hymnal, including those to the canticle tones, was first discussed by Trowell: 'Faburden-New Sources, New Evidence', 50.

EXAMPLE 4.2

Canticle tone 1

Use of Sarum
p. 1410

RATB
fol. 227

N
fol. 347

Tone 1
with 1.8

C
fol. 197

GP 184

Leam. 442
fol. 157

Canticle tone 2

Use of Sarum
p. 1410

with 2.3

C
fol. 197

Use of Sarum
p. 1410

with 2.2

C
fol. 197

Canticle tone 3

Use of Sarum
p. 1410

with 2.3

C
fol. 197

Use of Sarum
p. 1410

beginning on c.
with 3.3

RATB
fol. 227

N
fol. 347

EXAMPLE 4.2

Cardinal tone 4

Dir of Surin
p. 104
with 4.2

C
fol. 164^r

RASG
fol. 164^v

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Cardinal tone 5

Dir of Surin
p. 104
with 5.1

C
fol. 164^r

RASG
fol. 164^v

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Cardinal tone 6

Dir of Surin
p. 104

C
fol. 164^r

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Cardinal tone 7

Dir of Surin
p. 104
with 7.1

RASG
fol. 164^v

Dir of Surin
p. 104
beginning on g

C
fol. 164^r

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Es
Es es - al - la - ve qst - ti - nae me - nae Ia De - o sa - la - ti - ti me -

Canticle 100: 8

[illegible]

accompanied by the mensural counterpoints for each *differentia* in *tempus perfectum*. The counterpoint for each complete canticle tone is written out several times, with each new setting including the underlay of one of the even-numbered verses of the *Magnificat*, except for that of tone 6 for which the counterpoint melody is written only once, with underlay for verse 2. Occasionally, one of these settings has text incipits of not one, but two, of the even-numbered verses. This is exemplified in the counterpoint for tone 1 where the words 'Sicut locutus est' (verse 10) and 'Sicut erat in principio' (verse 12) are written under the same staff. However, the procedure occurs most frequently with verses 6 and 8, with the insertion of the opening word from verse 8, 'Esurientes', under 'Fecit' from verse 6, indicating that verse 8 was to be sung to the same melody (and in the same mensuration) as that for verse 6. This procedure is repeated in the counterpoints to tones 1, 2, 4 and 5, whilst verse 8 is omitted completely from the counterpoints to tones 3, 7 and 8. There are two complete sets of counterpoint melodies for tone 2 in C; however, apart from a few minor variations between the melodies, there is nothing that would ostensibly account for the inclusion of two complete settings of the tone 2 counterpoint.

An examination of the counterpoints to all the tones reveals that the melodies for tones 1 and 6 are identical, apart from their 'endings' which are counterpoints to *differentiae* 1.8 and 6 respectively. In RA56 and N the complete counterpoint melody for tone 6 is omitted altogether.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS ROYAL APPENDIX 56

RA56 comprises a variety of different types of compositions, including nineteen pieces for organ (written on double, six- or seven-line staves, fols 1V-22^r and 29V-32^r), with incipits of liturgical texts - such as the responsories *Felix namque* and *Beata viscera* - and also vernacular texts. A *Te Deum* in plainsong notation appears on fol. 30V. There are also two tables, one showing different kinds of proportion (fol. 1^r) and the other a table of scales (fol. 32V). Mensural melodies which may be fitted in counterpoint with the canticle tones appear on fols 22V-29^r, and are transcribed in Appendix II. The counterpoint for each tone is also included in Example 4.2 above.

With one exception, the plainsong *neuma* and *differentiae* are supplied in the manuscript for every tone, along with a contrapuntal melody in mensural notation with text underlay from the even-numbered verses of the *Magnificat* and also contrapuntal mensural melodies for the *differentiae* in both *tempus perfectum* and *tempus imperfectum*. The settings for each new tone commence with one of its *differentiae* in plainsong notation. The counterpoint melody is then given in mensural notation - with verses 2, 4, 10 and 12 in *tempus perfectum*, and verses 6 and 8 in *tempus imperfectum*. The plainsong *differentiae* follow, accompanied by mensural counterpoint versions in both *tempus perfectum* and

imperfectum. The set of melodies for each tone concludes with the appropriate *neuma* in plainsong notation. RA56 is the only one of the three sources that includes these *neumae*.¹⁹

The counterpoint for each tone is repeated several times for most of the tones and each repetition is provided with a different even-numbered verse text underlay. The only exceptions are the first and sixth tones, for each of which the counterpoint melody is supplied once only and is provided with the underlay for the second verse (beginning 'Et exultavit'). The tones, and associated counterpoints, are arranged in this manuscript in the order: 1, 6, 8, 2, 8, 3, 4, 5 and 7. In RA56 the counterpoints for the tone 2 *differentiae* are misplaced, appearing in the middle of the counterpoints for tone 8. Although the counterpoints to tones 2 and 8 are very similar - the melodies of their respective canticle tones being identical - the setting that appears with the six-verse underlay on fol. 24^r-24^v is that for tone 8. The setting in RA56 is preceded by *differentia* 8.4 (notated beginning on *f* and with an F4-clef rather than beginning on *c*' and with a C-clef as in the *Use of Sarum*), and the ending in the setting is correspondingly one that appears as the counterpoint for 8.4 in both C and N. Following the six settings with even-numbered verse underlay for the counterpoint to tone 8 there appear the plainsong *differentiae* for 2.1 and 2.2 with corresponding mensural counterpoints and the tone 2 *neuma*. The scribe then returns to tone 8, supplying plainsong *differentiae* 8.1 and 8.5 (notated a fifth lower than they appear in the *Use of Sarum*) and corresponding mensural counterpoints, finishing with the *neuma* for the eighth tone on fol. 25^r.

MAIDSTONE, CENTRE FOR KENTISH STUDIES, MS NR/IB6

The manuscript Maidstone, Centre for Kentish Studies, NR/IB6 [N] consists of mid-sixteenth-century court records from New Romney Borough. These include the dates, 1551 (fol. 1^r-1^v), 1556 (fol. 166^r), 1555 (fols 215^r-216^r) and 1553 (fol. 244^v). Written on paper and forming eight-leaf gatherings, these records have been re-bound between modern boards. Four parchment flyleaves precede these court records and, as with the paper leaves, are pasted on to new strips. On the two flyleaves [iii] and [iv], are copied counterpoints to canticle tones in mensural notation, along with plainsong *differentiae*, and counterpoints to the *differentiae*. They are almost certainly from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The contents of flyleaves [iii^r] to [iv^v] are transcribed in Appendix II and the counterpoints for each of the tones represented may be compared with those from

¹⁹Harrison notes that for 'all antiphons to the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult*), the *neuma* of the mode was added, except during the three weeks before the Sunday after Easter and in services for the dead': 'Plainsong into Polyphony Repertoires', 333; *Brev* 1, dcxciii, and 2, 475. Therefore, the inclusion of the *neuma* for every tone in RA56 may provide evidence that the counterpoints may have been sung together with the plainsong canticle tones for the even-numbered verses in a performance of the *Magnificat* in its liturgical context.

Verse 6

The discovery of the precise counterpoint melody used in Fayrfax's *'Regale' Magnificat* has proved conclusively that it is based upon the counterpoint to tone 8 on *c'* and transposed down a fifth, and that it uses a counterpoint to *differentia* 8.1. It has been demonstrated that examination of cadential schemes alone may be insufficient to establish the correct fundamental canticle tone. However, a knowledge of all possible cadential schemes available to each tone, incorporating the last note of each of its *differentiae* as well as possible transpositions of these, will provide a restricted number of feasible alternatives that may be considered. Fayrfax's *'Regale' Magnificat* employs F as the root of both medial and final cadences. Following the *Use of Sarum*, this scheme is characteristic only of canticle tone 8 on *c'*, with *differentia* 8.1. This means that although identification of the counterpoint used in this *Magnificat* identified also the canticle tone which is appropriate for the odd-numbered verses, a complete understanding of how cadential patterns function in Sarum canticle tones will also prove to be an important adjunct to explaining compositional decisions in English *Magnificat* settings of this period.

LAMBE'S *MAGNIFICAT*

Initially, Lambe's *Magnificat* setting appears to be freely composed and independent of any canticle tone. This is because references to either a canticle tone or one of the counterpoints are mostly avoided in the tenor (that is, the contratenor in E) in the openings of sections.²⁸ The endings are similarly not ostensibly derived from the canticle-tone melodies. Examination of the cadential scheme in this *Magnificat* reveals that the medial cadences fall

²⁸ Harrison notes in the editorial commentary in MB 12 that Lambe's *Magnificat* is also found in *Car*, with the contratenor and tenor reversed. Although there are no voice designations in *Car*, the parts are laid out so that the tenor part in E is positioned at the bottom of the page where the contratenor is normally found. The Eton scribe probably confused the labelling of the two parts because the real contratenor part begins with the notes *g-a-c'-d'* in verse 2.

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predominantly on *c* (that for 'Abraham' being on *G*), and the cadences at the end of every verse are on *G*. Therefore, this scheme corresponds with that for canticle tone 8 on *G*, with *differentia* 8.4, the latter being the only *differentia* for canticle tone 8 that ends on *G*.

This *Magnificat* is indeed based on the counterpoint to tone 8, which is embedded in the triplex, often in a highly paraphrased fashion, instead of the tenor. At the beginning of verse 2, the opening four-note motif of the counterpoint is stated with some elaboration in bars 1 to 2. The canticle tone itself is then stated in the contratenor, initially unadorned but becoming increasingly elaborated until 'meus' (bars 4-12), as shown in Example 4.14.

EXAMPLE 4.14

The musical score for Example 4.14 consists of five staves: TREBLE, MEAN, CONTRATENOR, TENOR, and BASS. The notation is in mensural style with a 4/4 time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves. The first system covers bars 1 to 4, and the second system covers bars 5 to 8. The second system begins with a forte (ff) dynamic marking. The lyrics are: 'Et exultavit', 'Et exultavit', 'Et exultavit', 'Et exultavit', and 'Et exultavit'.

Elaborated statements of the counterpoint motif are also heard in the triplex in the openings of verses 4, and possibly 12, and in the contratenor in verse 6 (Example 4.15). The presentation of the counterpoint in the contratenor in verse 6 may be of significance, because for many English settings of this time it is this verse in which the counterpoint may be most clearly discerned.

EXAMPLE 4.15

The counterpoint to 8.4, with its characteristic fall from *d* to *g*, is barely discernible in this setting. However, there is possibly a highly paraphrased version of it in the triplex in verse 6 (bars 79-93) migrating to the medius for the final note, *g'*, a treatment reminiscent of the canticle-tone migration from middle to lowest voice for the final two notes of each verse in the fourteenth-century *Magnificat* GB-Cu Kk. i. 6, fol. 247^r-247^v. The counterpoint to 8.4 may be also conceivably in the triplex in verse 10 (bars 158-61), once again migrating to the medius for the final note.

The incorporation of the counterpoint in the triplex rather than the tenor is highly unusual for an English *Magnificat* of this period. However, it is possible that this treatment may also be seen in the 'Dartmouth' *Magnificat*, a setting dating from the 1480s, that will be discussed further on p. 184.

THE SETTINGS BY STRATFORD AND SYGAR

The *Magnificat* by William, monk of Stratford, does not appear to be based on the melody of either a canticle tone or its corresponding counterpoint, as neither the openings nor endings of the verses are derived from these sources.²⁹ The only exception is possibly verse 10 where canticle tone 8 on *g* may be traced in the second contratenor (Example 4.16).

²⁹The words 'dompneus wyllimus monachus stratfordie' are written at the top of fol. ee2^v.

EXAMPLE 4.16



Essentially, when setting a *Magnificat*, composers were faced with the task of writing a set of variations on a very simple plainsong melody or else, in the case of the English, the counterpoint to that canticle tone. It has been shown that these melodies are important for establishing the correct canticle tone that was sung in plainsong for the odd-numbered verses. The cadential scheme of a polyphonic *Magnificat* may be considered to be even more crucial in the assignment of an appropriate canticle tone for the verses not set polyphonically. The strict cadential plan in Lambe's *Magnificat* suggested that the setting may be founded upon an underlying canticle tone or its counterpoint, even though such melodies are barely visible. By contrast, Stratford's *Magnificat* employs a variety of notes as the roots of chords in medial cadences, resulting in three cadences on *c* and one each on *F* and *d*. Only the cadences at the end of every verse fall consistently on *F*. This means that if *c* is taken to be the predominant medial cadence note then, according to the *Use of Sarum*, canticle tone 8 on *g*, with *differentia* 8.5, would be appropriate for the odd-numbered verses. Conversely, a cadential plan in which both medial and final cadences fall on *F* would be indicative of canticle tone 8 on *c* with *differentia* 8.1.³⁰ It is the latter option that Harrison adopts for the plainsong intonation supplied for this setting in MB 12.³¹

The descending melody that opens Stratford's *Magnificat* and which is also seen in verses 6 and 12, is not a known counterpoint to the canticle tones. Eaton's contention that

³⁰The *B^b* signatures and accidentals that occur in this setting are not inconsistent with canticle tone 8, as the counterpoints to *differentiae* 8.1 and 8.5 include *B^b* accidentals in all of the monophonic mensural settings.

³¹MB 12, 104.

this melody's appearance as a countermelody to 'faburden 8' in several other English settings confirms the faburden to tone 8 as the basis for Stratford's *Magnificat* cannot be endorsed.³² This descending melody is a common pattern and occurs with such frequency in late medieval polyphony that it in no way verifies 'faburden 8' as the foundation of this *Magnificat*. Indeed, a descending melodic line is also employed as a countermelody to the counterpoint to tone 7 in the anonymous *Magnificat* in the Lambeth Choirbook, (Lam, fols 41^v-44^r) and also Turges's setting in the Caius Choirbook (Caius, pp. 122-129, Example 4.17).

EXAMPLE 4.17

Magnificat (anon.; Lam, fol. 41^v)

Musical score for Example 4.17, *Magnificat* (anon.; Lam, fol. 41^v). The score is for five voices: Treble, Mean, Counter-Tenor, Tenor, and Bass. It is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are 'Et ex - sul - ta -'. The Treble part has a descending melody. The Mean part has a descending melody. The Counter-Tenor part has a descending melody. The Tenor part has a descending melody. The Bass part has a descending melody.

Turges: *Magnificat*

Musical score for Turges: *Magnificat*. The score is for five voices: Treble, Mean, Counter-Tenor, Tenor, and Bass. It is in 4/4 time. The lyrics are 'Et ex - sul - ta -'. The Treble part has a descending melody. The Mean part has a descending melody. The Counter-Tenor part has a descending melody. The Tenor part has a descending melody. The Bass part has a descending melody.

³²The *Magnificat* settings by Lambe, Cornysh, Prentyce, Fayrfax (*Regale*), and the anonymous settings in Lam fols 38^v-41^r and Car, fols 132^v-5^f, Eaton, 'The Origins of Cantus Firmus', 269. It is highly likely that the setting in Car to which Eaton refers is freely composed; the only possible occurrence of the counterpoint to tone 8 is in the bassus in the opening of verse 2.

In Stratford's *Magnificat*, the lively and intricate rhythms that often incorporate very short note values are highly characteristic of this setting (Example 4.18). Imitation plays an important role; the openings of verses 2, 6 and the second half of verse 8 are especially noteworthy for the interest generated from the interplay between the voices.

EXAMPLE 4.18



Although at least some music survives for every verse in Sygar's four-part *Magnificat* the tenor is missing from verse 2 to the first half of verse 8 and this has severely hampered any attempts to ascertain whether or not this setting is based on one of the counterpoints. The opening melody in the tenor in verse 10 conceivably may be an elaboration of *g-c'-d'-c'* (Example 4.19).

EXAMPLE 4.19



A recurrent ending is not discernible and there is very little evidence in the surviving music to suggest that the setting uses a counterpoint melody. The cadences at the end of the verses all appear to fall on G, and the medial cadences seem to be mostly on C except for that at the end of the first half of verse 6, which is on F, and that in verse 10 for 'Abraham', which is on either F or A. This is the only setting in E in which a different pitch from the prevailing medial cadence note is employed with 'suo' halfway through verse 6. This setting is also unusual because a formal division, indicated by way of a cadence and vertical stroke drawn through the parts, also occurs at this point - although it is

normally avoided in the E settings. The cadential scheme of this *Magnificat*, coupled with possible allusions to the opening *g-c'-d'-c'*, suggests that an appropriate canticle tone would be tone 8, with *differentia* 8.4.

WYLYNINSON'S *MAGNIFICAT* à 6

Two *Magnificat* settings by Wylkynson are listed in the index at the beginning of E. The five-voice one on folios aa6^v-aa7^r is now lost, and the six-part setting from folios aa8^v-bb2^r is fragmentary. Of the latter, music for three voices exists for verses 2, 4, 6 and first half of verse 8: [medius], secundus tenor and [bassus]; whilst music for a different three voices, [triplex], primus tenor and contratenor survives for the second half of verse 8, and verses 10 and 12. Two tenor parts are designated in the manuscript, one of only two settings in E in which this occurs (the other being Davy's *Stabat mater dolorosa*).

Wylkynson's *Magnificat* is most unusual because it quotes the counterpoint to not one, but two canticle tones in succession: 4 and 5. Harrison noted that the use of two counterpoints in this *Magnificat* was an 'apparently unique case'.³³ An obvious practical difficulty that surfaces from the use of more than one canticle tone, or counterpoint in a *Magnificat*, is deciding which tone should be used for the odd-numbered verses. It may have been feasible to have performed Wylkynson's *Magnificat* with either canticle tones 4 or 5 for the odd-numbered verses as the arguments presented below will demonstrate. The availability of two canticle-tone attributions also would permit the possibility of performing this *Magnificat* with a variety of antiphons. The two counterpoint melodies are deployed in the manner shown in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2 Disposition of the counterpoints in Wylkynson's *Magnificat*

Verse	Text	Cantus firmus voice	Counterpoint to tone and <i>differentia</i>	Bars
2	Et exultavit spiritus meus	sec. tenor	4	1-15
	salutari meo	sec. tenor	4.2 or 4.7	24-31
4	Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est	bassus	4	32-48
6	Fecit potentiam in brachio suo	sec. tenor	4	73-95
	mente cordis sui	sec. tenor	4.2	110-22
10	Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros	primus tenor	5	193-204
	Abraham	primus tenor	5	207-9
	Et semini eius in saecula	primus tenor	5.1	214-24
12	et in saecula saeculorum Amen	primus tenor	5.1	257-70

³³Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', 22.

Wylkynson appears to use the counterpoints to *differentiae* 4.2 and 5.1 as the respective endings in this *Magnificat*. These *differentiae* are also those supplied with the complete canticle tones in the *Use of Sarum* and in the complete counterpoints in C and RA56.³⁴ In Wylkynson's *Magnificat* the counterpoint to tone 4 begins with the notes *a-b-b-a*, thus replicating the opening of this counterpoint in RA56, instead of *c'-b-b-a*, the opening used in the C version of counterpoint 4.

The counterpoints to tones 4 and 5 are treated as a structural cantus firmus throughout, with minimal deviations from the melodies found in the sources for the mensural counterpoints. References to the counterpoints are mostly avoided in the passages scored for reduced forces, namely 'in Deo' in verse 2, 'dispersit superbos' in verse 6, the whole of verse 8 and the first half of verse 12. A notable exception is the appearance of the counterpoint to tone 4 in the bassus in the first half of verse 4 (Example 4.20).

EXAMPLE 4.20



Normally in an English *Magnificat*, a counterpoint melody is avoided in verse 4, which also tends to be scored for fewer parts. Therefore, Wylkynson's treatment of the verse is unusual, for although it has a reduced texture (indicated by means of the red text underlay in the manuscript) the counterpoint to tone 4 is presented in a structural layout, with virtually no deviations from the melody in RA56, apart from some elaboration leading up to the cadence. In addition, the cantus firmus is not stated in one of the two tenor parts but in the bassus instead, a treatment that is not encountered in any other

³⁴*Differentia* 4.2 is the only *differentia* from the eight that are supplied in the *Use of Sarum* for canticle tone 4 that ends on *e* and which therefore corresponds with the final of mode 4.

English *Magnificat* from this period. The cantus firmus is completely avoided in the extant parts for the ensuing second half of the verse (the bassus and medius are tacet throughout). The cantus firmus may have migrated to one of the now missing parts, or it may indeed have been omitted from this half of the verse altogether; however, its unusual presentation in the first half of the verse prompts an attempt to identify Wylkynson's intentions in treating the cantus firmus in this manner.³⁵

Although there are voices missing from the *Magnificat*, it is possible to say that all the medial and final cadences fall on A, with the exception of the medial one for 'nostros' in verse 10 which is on *f*. Despite using counterpoints associated with two different tones as his cantus firmus, Wylkynson is able consistently to maintain A as the root of cadences because this note fits the cadential schemes of both canticle tones 4 and 5. The medial cadence note in canticle tone 4 is *a* and the last note of *differentia* 4.2 is *e*, which may be harmonized by a chord on A when E is in the tenor part. The medial cadence in canticle tone 5 falls on *c'* (which again may be harmonized by a chord on A), and the last note of *differentia* 5.1 is *a*. The availability of the chord on A in both canticle tones 4 and 5 thus establishes a degree of modal agreement between those verses employing the counterpoint to tone 4 as their cantus firmus and the verses that have the counterpoint to tone 5 as their cantus firmus.³⁶ Therefore, instead of adhering to the cadential scheme that is appropriate to one canticle tone he draws upon elements that are common to both tones. In effect, Wylkynson treats the two counterpoints not as a basis from which to extrapolate melodic variations for every verse, but rather as a structural cantus firmus that is stated throughout extended passages of the music and, therefore, exerts a degree of influence over the whole harmonic structure when it is present.

Unlike the earlier composers in E such as Nesbett, Kellyk and even the much later Fayrfax, Wylkynson makes no attempt to disguise the counterpoint melodies. Rather than paraphrasing them and making references to them only in the openings and endings of the verses, Wylkynson presents the counterpoint melodies to canticle tones 4 and 5 as a structural cantus firmus that is stated throughout passages scored for full choir as well as in an anomalous manner in the reduced texture of the fourth verse. His choice of the counterpoints to canticle tones 4 and 5 is also unusual as these tones previously had almost never been used as the basis for an English *Magnificat* setting.³⁷ However continental settings on either tones 4 or 5 may be traced from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.³⁸

³⁵Wylkynson employs a similar procedure in his nine-voice *Salve regina* when the cantus firmus is placed in the triplex in the penultimate section (see p. 107).

³⁶An interesting feature of the cadences is that many of them include a C# (the missing parts preclude categorical statements regarding the inclusion of C# in all cadences on A). Cadences formed at the ends of sections on A with C# are rarely encountered in E.

³⁷An exception is that on canticle tone 5 by Hothby preserved in I-FZe 117.

³⁸These include settings by (among others) Dufay, Binchois, Janue, Obrecht, Prioris, Pierre de La Rue, Josquin and Mouton.

BROWNE'S MAGNIFICAT

For Browne's fragmentary five-part *Magnificat* the tenor survives for verses 2, 4 and 6 and the counterpoint to tone 1 is quoted in this voice in verses 2 and 6. The counterpoint is not apparent in the opening of verse 2, except perhaps in a highly elaborated form. The melody becomes more apparent with the words 'spiritus meus' in bars 6 to 14, but is absent for the words 'in Deo', re-emerging with '[saluta]ri meo' (bars 22-31). The melody is ornamented to such an extent that it is not possible to state from which *differentia* this melody is derived. In contrast to the paraphrased statement of the counterpoint in verse 2, the counterpoint to tone 1 is laid out simply in the tenor in verse 6 (Example 4.21). This manner of presentation also occurs in the *Magnificat* settings by Davy and Wylkynson. Initially, there are no deviations from the counterpoint that is found in the sources for the mensural counterpoints, apart from the alteration of the second b^{\sharp} in these sources to b^{\flat} , that occurs in the statements in verses 2 and 6 of Browne's *Magnificat*. The reason for this alteration is not apparent. This setting is unusual because it continues the statement of the counterpoint melody with 'dispersit superbos', a passage that the Eton composers not only normally scored for fewer parts, but from which, significantly, they also omitted the counterpoint. Two parts remain for the passage 'dispersit superbos' in verse 6: the triplex and tenor.

There is a degree of ornamentation towards the end of verse 6 at 'mente cordis sui'; however, this is not as elaborate as that in the *Magnificat* settings by composers such as Kellyk and Horwood.³⁹ Rhythmic variety is kept to a minimum even leading up to the cadence at the end of this verse. The ending of the counterpoint in verse 6 is more clearly delineated than in verse 2 and it is evident from this that it is the counterpoint to *differentia* 1.8. That this is not the counterpoint to either 1.3 or 1.6 is apparent from the upwards leap from g to c' that occurs within the melody underlaid with the word 'sui' and is characteristic of the counterpoint to 1.8. This idea is replaced by g to b^{\sharp} in the counterpoints to *differentiae* 1.3 and 1.6. The use of an ending with g as the final note precludes the possibility that the counterpoint melody is that for tone 6 (which shares the same melody with tone 1).

³⁹The scribe's text underlay for 'mente cordis sui' in Browne's setting does not correspond exactly with that used in the sources for the mensural counterpoints.

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EXAMPLE 4.21

[Tr] Fe - cit po - ten - ti - am in bra - chi - o su -

[T] Fe - cit po - ten ti - am in

[Tr] bra - chi - o su o dis -

[T] bra - chi - o su o dis -

[Tr] per - sit su - per - bos men - te cor -

[T] per - sit su - per - bos men - te cor -

[Tr] te cor - dis su - i

[T] dis su - i

Browne's *Magnificat*, like Fayrfax's *Regale*, demonstrates how the tonal centre of a *Magnificat* may not necessarily be equated with the corresponding modal final. In this case, judging from the remaining parts, G seems to be the root of the last chord in each of the first three polyphonically-set verses and a motif that ascends from c to g pervades the openings of the each of the verses. There is no sense that this composition is in a mode with D final. Without a signature, it is not even possible to conceive this *Magnificat* as being in the transposed D mode (with G final).

DAVY'S MAGNIFICAT

Davy's *Magnificat* may be one of the earliest English settings written on an independent melody instead of a canticle tone or its counterpoint. The tenor melody is presented in long notes throughout (see Example 4.22), in the same manner as the *cantus firmus* in Ludford's *Benedicta Magnificat* from *Caius*. Only two parts survive from the four for which Davy's *Magnificat* was originally scored; fortunately, however, one of these is the tenor. Music exists for the second half of verse 8, beginning with 'Et divites', until the final 'Amen'.

EXAMPLE 4.22

Verse 8

5

Et di - vi - tes di - mi - sit in - a -

10

15

nes,

Verse 10

20

lo - cu - tus est ad

25

30

pa - tres A - bra - ham

35

40

Et se - mi - ni e - ius

45

in se - cu - la.

Verse 12

50

55

A

60

65

men,

The melody does not resemble any of the known counterpoints to the canticle tones, nor is it a new counterpoint for it cannot be fitted to any of the canticle tones. The melody is not repeated from verse to verse and does not use the same cadential material at the end of the three surviving verses. The melody is set out in a structural cantus firmus fashion: that is, the tenor voice moves in longer note values than the surrounding voices and with little rhythmic interest.

The appearance of the cantus firmus at the beginning of the second half of verse 8 is most unusual since, as has been already seen, references to the counterpoint melody are normally avoided in this verse in English settings. The leaps of an octave and seventh (bars 9-10 and 43-4 respectively) minimize the possibility that the melody has a plainsong source, although Davy may have altered the melody by octave displacement at these points. If the latter is true and the cantus firmus is derived from a chant, then, with its final on *c*, it must be either the transposed G mode (with C final) or else one of the mode 6 chants that appears in 'variationes in acutas constitutas' noted in the Sarum Tonale.⁴⁰

THE PROBLEM OF CANTICLE-TONE ASSIGNMENT

This survey of the *Magnificat* settings in E has brought to light problems associated with the most vexing question concerning the performance of the polyphonic *Magnificat*: what to sing for those verses for which polyphonic music is not provided? The conclusions that may be drawn from having analysed not merely the E settings but also the majority of English polyphonic *Magnificat* settings from the Latin rite from the fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries (see Table 4.3 overleaf) indicate that there are three crucial elements that influence correct canticle-tone assignment in the polyphonic context.⁴¹ These are: the presence of a Sarum *differentia* or its corresponding counterpoint at the ends of verses (and particularly at the end of verse 6), the existence of references to a canticle tone or its corresponding counterpoint in the opening melodies of verses (and once again, particularly in verse 6) and the cadential scheme of the *Magnificat*.

Examination of all three criteria is important when addressing problematic canticle-tone assignments in English *Magnificat* settings from this period. Fayrfax's *Regale* is not the only English *Magnificat* of this period to which conflicting canticle-tone assignments have been made by modern scholars. His *'O bone Ihesu'* *Magnificat*, which is found in several sources with *D* as the root or its final cadence and is copied up a fourth with *G* as the final in the partbooks *GB-Ob* Tenbury 354-8, has been variously assigned to canticle

⁴⁰Use of Sarum, II, xl-xli.

⁴¹Although preserved in a Scottish source, the anonymous *Magnificat* settings in *Car* have been included in this Table because *Car* contains the *Magnificat* settings by the English composers Nesbett and Lambe and it is not implausible that similarly the anonymous settings (of which three are based on *Magnificat* counterpoints) may be of English provenance.

TABLE 4.3 English polyphonic settings of the *Magnificat* c.1350-1540

Principal source	Compilation date	Attribution	Chief signature	Root of final chord	Ambitus	Counterpoint/canticle tone	<i>Differētia</i>	Annotations	Comments
<i>GB-Cx</i> Kk. l. 6, fol. 247 ^r -247 ^v <i>GB-TAr</i> DD/WBh3182, fol. A ^r -A ^v <i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. Th. c. 30, fol. 151 ^v	s.xiv ²	anon.	C ₁ C ₄ C ₅	d	B ⁺ -f	1	1.1		verses 2-5
<i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. Th. c. 30, fol. 151 ^v	s.xiv in s.xv	anon.	C ₁ C ₄ C ₅	c	B ⁺ -c ⁺	8	8.4		verses 1-12 (incl.)
<i>ModB</i> , fol. 33 ^r -34 ^v	s.xv ^{1/2}	Unstable	C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ ⁺	[g]	c-h ⁺ /f	2	2.1 or 2.2		verses 1-12
<i>Tr</i> 87, fol. 81 ^v -82 ^v	c.1430	anon.	G ₁ ⁺ C ₃ C ₄ ⁺	f	f-f ⁺	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on f)	8.4		sets even-numbered verses
<i>LFZc</i> 117, fol. 63 ^v -65 ^r	c.1473-4	Hobby	C ₂ C ₃ C ₅	g	g-d ⁺	8			
<i>LFZc</i> 117, fol. 66 ^v -67 ^r		Hobby	C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	f	c-d ⁺	5			
Exeter, City Archives, S.M. 1981, fol. 3 ^r -4 ^r <i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. lit. s. 9, fol. 6 ^v <i>GB-CA</i> Add. 128/7 fol. 1 ^v -1 ^v	c.1480 c.1490 c.1490-1500	anon. anon. anon.	G ₁ C ₂ C ₄ C ₅ G ₂ C ₃ C ₄ G ₂ ⁺ C ₂ ⁺ C ₄ ⁺	f [f] [A]	c-d ⁺ [c-f ⁺]	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c) [Counterpoint 1]	8.57		'Dartmouth' <i>Magnificat</i> Medial cadences mainly on c, 1 on f.
<i>GB-Ob</i> Lat. lit. s. 6, fol. 109 ^r -109 ^v	s.xv ex.	anon.	G ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₃	[f]		[8]	[8.4]		fol. 109 ^r verses 7, 9 fol. 109 ^v verses 1, 3, 5

† Now lost. Discussion of this *Magnificat*, including the assignment of faburden 1 to it, is found in Sandon, 'Fragments of Medieval Polyphony', 47-53.

Principal source	Compilation date	Attribution	Clef/ signature	Root of final chord	Ambitus	Counterpoint/ canticle tone	Differentia	Annotations	Comments
Car. fols 109 ^v -114 ^r	s.xvi	anon.	G ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ F ₄	d	F-f	Counterpoint 1	1.1		
Car. fols 114 ^v -119 ^r		anon.	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ F ₄	F	F-f	Counterpoint 7 (beginning on f)	7.1, 7.4 or 7.7		Medial cadences on B ^b , c, A and d
Car. fols 123 ^v -127 ^r		anon.	G ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃	g	c-c ^o	Counterpoint 8	8.4		
Car. fols 132 ^v -135 ^r		anon.	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	G	[F-c ^o]	Freely composed			Allusion to Car. 8 in bassus, verse 2 only. Cadential scheme fits 8.4
E. fols y7 ^v -z1 ^r	c.1503-10	Nesbitt	G ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	g	B ^b -b ^o	Counterpoint 8	8.4		
E. fols z1 ^v -z3 ^r		Horwood	G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	G	F-g ^o	Counterpoint 8	8.4	ys in a key re	
E. fols z3 ^v -z6 ^r		Kellyk	G ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	g	c-c ^o	Counterpoint 8	8.4		
E. fols z6 ^v -z8 ^r		Lambe	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	G	G-f	Counterpoint 8/ Freely composed	8.4		Counterpoint in triplex?
E. fols z8 ^v -aa2 ^r		Browne	G ₁ [C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄]	[g]	[f-c ^o]	Counterpoint 1	1.8		
E. fols aa2 ^v -aa4 ^r		Fayfax	G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	F	F-f	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)	8.1	'Regale' Claus. 'c fa ut'	
E. fols aa8 ^v -bb2 ^r		Wylkynson	G ₁ C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	[a]	[a-d]	Cys. 4 & 5	4.2, 5.1		
E. fols bb7 ^v -cc1 ^r		Sygar	C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ F ₄	[g]	[F-c ^o]	Freely composed			Cadential scheme fits 8.4
E. fols dd7 ^v -ee1 ^r		Davy	- C ₂ C ₃ C ₄	c	[B ^b -g ^o]	Isolated cuncta firmus			
E. fols ee1 ^v -ee3 ^r		Stratford	C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	F	F-c ^o	Freely composed			
Lam. 38 ^v -41 ^r	c.1510	anon.	G ₂ C ₂ C ₃ C ₄ F ₄	F	F-f	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)	8.1		

Principal source	Compilation date	Attribution	Chief signature	Root of final chord	Ambitus	Counterpoint/canticle tone	Differencia	Annotations	Comments
Lam, fols 41 ^v -44 ^r		anon.	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	d	G ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 7 (beginning on f)	7.1		
Lam, fols 63 ^v -66 ^r		Fayfax	C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂ F ₂	D	D ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 7	7.5 or 7.3		<i>O bone ihesu</i>
Calus, pp. 112-117	c.1520	Cornyth	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ G ₂ F ₂	C	C ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)	8.4	U ₁ in c fa ut	
Calus, pp. 122-129		Turges	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	F	F ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 7 (beginning on f)	7.4	z fa ut	
Calus, pp. 130-135		Prentyce	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂ F ₂	c	F ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)			Cadential scheme fts 8.4
Calus, pp. 136-141		Lutford	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂ F ₂	F	F ₂ ⁺	Mode 6 responsory		z fa ut	<i>Benedicta</i>
GB-Cu Peterhouse 471.4	c.1540-7	Alpelby	C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	d	F ₂ ⁺	1			
GB-Cu Peterhouse 471.4		Durke	C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	G	E ₂ ⁺	8			Cadential scheme fts 8.4
GB-Cu Peterhouse 471.4		Jones	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	G	G ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 1?			Cpt 1 possibly in triplex
GB-Cu Peterhouse 471.4		Pashe	G ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	d	F ₂ ⁺	8			
GB-Cu Peterhouse 471.4		Taverner (5v)	C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ - F ₂	D	D ₂ ⁺	Counterpoint 2			
GB-LIN 17802-5	c.1555	Taverner (4v)	C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	F	F ₂ ⁺	6	6		
GB-Ob Tenbury 807-11 GB-Lin Add. 18926-9		Taverner (6v)	(G ₂) C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ C ₂ F ₂	d	D ₂ ⁺	1	1.1		
GB-LIN Add. 29996, fol. 25 ^v	c.1547-9	anon.		c		Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)	8.4	'the viij tune in c faul/fine	Keyboard setting
GB-LIN Add. 30513, fol. 60 ^v		Redford?		c		Counterpoint 8 (beginning on c)			Keyboard setting

tones 1 and 7.⁴² Clearly, Warren's tone 1 assignment was made according to modal principles, with the version of this *Magnificat* with D final and medial cadences on A appearing to be a mode 1 composition. When the mensural counterpoints in RA56 were discovered, the counterpoint to canticle tone 7 could be discerned in the tenor in verses 2, 6, 10 and 12.

Harrison stated that the *Magnificat* by Turges in Caius was in mode 6; however, it was assigned to faburden 7 on *f* by Doe.⁴³ This *Magnificat* is somewhat unusual because the counterpoint to canticle tone 7 is quite obvious in the tenor; however, each of the medial cadences falls on a different note: verse 2 on *d*, 4 on *c*, 8 on *A*, 10 on *G* and 12 on *F*, with the final cadence in every verse formed on *F*. In Turges's *Magnificat* the counterpoint is notated beginning on *f* rather than on *c'* as in RA56 (fol. 28^v). The medial cadence for this canticle tone in the *Use of Sarum* is *e*. Therefore, one would expect the medial cadences in Turges's setting using the counterpoint transposed down a fifth to fall on *a*. However, only the medial cadence for verse 8 falls on *A*, although the tenor also has *a* as the fifth in the medial cadence on *d* in verse 2. Doe supplies *differentia* 7.4 as the ending for canticle tone 7 for the odd-numbered verses; however, *differentia* 7.7 would be equally valid, the two *differentiae* and corresponding counterpoints being almost identical (the latter differing only in rhythm and ligature placement between the sources for the mensural counterpoints).

The *Magnificat* from the Exeter City Archives known as the 'Dartmouth' *Magnificat* (GB-EXcl 1981) was dated c.1480-4 by Dart and has been variously described as being in mode 5 on *F* (Harrison), based on canticle tone 6 on *c* (Dart) and faburden 7 (Sandon).⁴⁴ In this setting, medial cadences are avoided in verses 2 and 6 (those in which a counterpoint is usually most visible) and also verse 10. Medial cadences for verses 4 and 8 fall on *c* and that in the final verse is on *f*. With medial cadences on *c'* occurring marginally more often, this cadential scheme fits only canticle tone 8 on *g* with *differentia* 8.5. Possibly a reference is made to the counterpoint to tone 8 on *c* or even the canticle tone itself, in the triplex in verses 2 (bars 3-5), 6 (bars 80-3) and conceivably verse 8 (bars 125-6). This setting does not appear to be based on the counterpoint to canticle tone 7 because the first four notes of that counterpoint - *c'-d'-e'-d'* - are heard in the tenor only in verse 2, whereas the opening of the tone 8 counterpoint seems to recur. This *Magnificat* is most probably freely composed, with the cadential scheme suggesting that canticle tone 8 on *c*

⁴²Warren initially assigned the *Magnificat* 'O bone ihesu' to canticle tone 1 in 'Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat' (1961), 121, but then altered his opinion to canticle tone 7 for the edition in Robert Fayrfax: *Collected Works*, II (1964), 12-21. In the interim, Doe's edition of the *Magnificat* had been published with the comment that *O bone ihesu* was based upon the faburden to tone 7, x.

⁴³Harrison, *MMB*, 350; Doe, *EECM* 4, x.

⁴⁴Harrison, *MMB*, 359 (he admits that the 'tenor does not seem to be clearly related to the *Magnificat* intonation of that mode'); *The Dartmouth Magnificat*, trans. and ed. Dart, 1; Sandon, 'Fragments of Medieval Polyphony', 52.

with *differentia* 8.5 would be appropriate for the odd-numbered verses. In a modal context, the cadential scheme has the appearance of mode 5. However, in the context of the genre of the *Magnificat*, canticle tone 5 cannot be employed for the odd-numbered verses because although the medial cadence for this tone is *c'* in the Sarum Tonale, the final notes for each of the *differentiae* available for tone 5 are *a* or *c'*, but not *f*. This *Magnificat* demonstrates that in terms of formal design, English polyphonic *Magnificat* settings may be based upon a canticle tone that is quite different from a perceived modal appearance.

The inclusion of the verse *Benedicta et venerabilis* from the mode 6 responsory *Beata es virgo* as the cantus firmus in a *Magnificat* by Ludford seems to indicate that the mode of a cantus firmus determines the appropriate canticle tone for the odd-numbered verses. The cantus firmus in Ludford's '*Benedicta*' *Magnificat* is stated in the openings and endings of verses, passages in which a canticle tone or its counterpoint and a corresponding *differentia* are normally stated. Therefore, the cantus firmus assumes the same function as the canticle-tone melody. The medial cadences are formed on both *f* and *c* and the root of the final chord in every verse is *F*. Evidently, Ludford treats the cantus firmus in a similar manner to Wylkynson in his six-part *Magnificat* (see p.174 above), with the final and fifth of mode 6 serving an important structural function forming the roots of principal cadences.

Examination of the place of the mensural counterpoints in English *Magnificat* settings of this period and discussion of the variety of cadential schemes available to composers of polyphonic *Magnificat* settings has clarified the ways in which these were composed. The distinctively English procedure of incorporating a counterpoint to a canticle tone in preference to the canticle tone itself has so far yielded no continental parallels. Comparisons between English and continental approaches to the setting of the *Magnificat* will be made in the following discussion.

CONCLUSION

One of the striking features of the *Magnificat* collection in *E* is the large number of settings that are included therein. These settings are mostly scored for four or five voices; however, a *Magnificat* for six voices by Wylkynson and seven voices by Browne (now lost) are testimony to the accomplishments of English composers in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Few comparable *Magnificat* settings of this size exist by continental composers of the same period; among the earliest five-part settings by continental composers are those by Thomas Stoltzer (c.1480-5) in *D-LEu* Thomaskirche 49/50 and five- and six-voice ones by both Johannes Prioris (c.1460-c.1510) and Pierre de La Rue (1460-1518) preserved in *D-Ju* Cod. 20 (compiled c.1512-20). The tradition of setting the *Magnificat* polyphonically emerged in England in the mid-fourteenth century and may be

seen in two extant settings. Probably the earliest surviving polyphonic settings of the *Magnificat* by continental composers are the nine included in the twenty-ninth gathering of Q15 (compiled c.1434-6) and composed by Lymburgia, Feragut and several anonymous composers, with one each by Dufay and Lymburgia preserved in the same layer (the eighteenth gathering). In company with other psalmodic forms, these predominantly three-part *Magnificat* settings tend to use fauxbourdon techniques to a great extent; that is, the canticle tone is normally quoted in the highest voice, with two lower parts being formed a fourth and sixth respectively below.⁴⁵ As a result, such *Magnificat* settings tend to move in successions of $\frac{6}{3}$ chords with little rhythmic or melodic invention.

The English practice that emerges with an anonymous setting in Tr87 of setting only the even-numbered verses is reflected in the sources for the mensural counterpoints (dating from *circa* 1525-50) where text underlay for only these verses is supplied. Conversely, fifteenth-century continental *Magnificat* settings are often through-composed, exemplified by those on tones 6 and 8 by Dufay and most of Binchois's settings.⁴⁶ Martini's *Magnificat* on the second tone in ModC (compiled after 1475) is exceptional as only the odd-numbered verses are set polyphonically.

The English convention of setting the verses in a standard, symmetrically conceived mensural pattern, with verses 2, 4, 10 and 12 in *tempus perfectum* framing verses 6 and 8 in *tempus imperfectum*, is also followed in the mensural counterpoints. In the majority of settings in E, verses 2, 4, 8 and 12 are divided formally into two parts, defined by a musical cadence at which movement in all voices ceases and a vertical stroke through the staves occurs in all voices. Verse 10 differs from this pattern and is divided instead into three parts, an extra division following the word 'Abraham'.⁴⁷ In most of the settings in E no formal division is made in verse 6 at the half-verse (following 'brachio suo').⁴⁸ Even so, a cadence in most parts is commonly retained at 'brachio suo', although rarely do all parts cease movement simultaneously. The reason for the avoidance of a formal division after the medial cadence in only this verse is not apparent. In several settings - those by Nesbitt, Horwood, Stratford, Wylkynson and Sygar - the words 'in Deo' are given special attention in verse 2 by formal and informal means. The medial cadence on 'meus' precedes the phrase 'in Deo'; however, an informal division is also made, effected by a reduction

⁴⁵Trumble lists twenty *Magnificat* settings from fifteenth-century continental sources that appear with the designation '*faux bourdon*' (or a variation on it) for one of the parts: *Fauxbourdon*, vol. 1, 75.

⁴⁶An exception is Binchois's *Magnificat octavi toni* in which only the even-numbered verses are set: *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, 168-72. Agricola's *Magnificat* on the eighth tone sets all twelve verses polyphonically beginning with the word '*Magnificat*', which is normally omitted but is included here as a plainsong intonation: *Opera Omnia*, III, 51.

⁴⁷With the exception of those by Lambe and Davy in which the first division, after 'nostros', is not observed. The formal division that follows the medial cadence at 'semper' in verse 12 is omitted in the *Magnificat* settings by Wylkynson, Sygar and Stratford.

⁴⁸Only Horwood and Sygar include a stroke through all parts at this point.

from a full-voice texture to a fewer-voice one specifically with these words. This treatment could be considered a means for highlighting the text. The reduction in texture is repeated in verse 6 with the words 'dispersit superbos' ('scattering the proud') in the settings by Kellyk, Horwood, Lambe, Fayrfax, Stratford and Wylkynson.⁴⁹ In the mensural counterpoints, these divisions are frequently formalized by the insertion of a cadence, often with fermata sign, and vertical stroke through the staff following 'Deo' and 'superbos'. There is far greater flexibility in mensuration schemes in continental *Magnificat* settings compared to those in E, which tend to follow a rigid pattern. Although the use of a tripartite mensuration scheme is encountered in *Magnificat* settings by mid-fifteenth century continental composers such as Dufay (those on tones 3 and 5) and Binchois, diverse mensuration schemes are evident in settings by later composers. Brumel's *Magnificat primi toni*, for example, employs duple metre throughout, whilst Agricola's *Magnificat* on the second tone alternates between verses in triple and duple mensuration.⁵⁰

In several English *Magnificat* settings, the word 'Abraham' is treated in a special way. Sometimes this results in its isolation in a section of its own, as mentioned above. In the settings by Fayrfax, Stratford and Wylkynson, imitation is introduced with this passage. The highlighting of the word in this manner has distinct compositional parallels with the treatment of the words 'Et Ihesum' in many of the *Salve regina* settings in E (see pp.115-16). There is also a tendency in fifteenth-century continental *Magnificat* settings to draw attention to 'Abraham' by isolating it from the rest of the text with rests in at least two of the voices in three-part settings (exemplified in Dufay's *Magnificat octavi toni* and most of those by Binchois) or by introducing imitation (as in Obrecht's *Magnificat*).⁵¹ In E, the word 'Abraham' is further distinguished in some settings by the use of a cadence that falls on a note different from the usual medial cadence note. For example, in the *Magnificat* settings on the counterpoint to tone 8 by Nesbitt and Horwood there is a cadence on G instead of c', the normal medial cadence note for tone 8 on g. In Kellyk's *Magnificat*, the tenor has c' in this cadence; however, this is harmonized by a chord on f, whereas the note in the tenor is usually the same as, or is an octave above, the root of the medial and final cadences. In the mensural counterpoints, the cadences in the extra divisions in verses 2, 6 and 10 always fall on the same note as the other medial cadences in every tone except for tone 1 in C and N. Cadences fall on c' instead of a in the second section of verses 2 and 6 in C (and also verse 2 in tone 6) and in verses 2 and 10 in N.

⁴⁹Browne's fragmentary *Magnificat* probably also reduces the texture for 'dispersit superbos'; however, of the two extant parts, the text underlay for the triplex is written in red ink and the tenor in black. This is likely to be a scribal error and the tenor part should, in fact, be in red ink.

⁵⁰Brumel, *Opera Omnia*, VI, 1-6; Agricola, *Opera Omnia*, III, 41-50.

⁵¹Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, V, 81-6; Binchois, *The Sacred Music of Gilles Binchois*, Obrecht, *Werken*, VI, 136.

A substantial number of settings of the *Magnificat* by English composers from the mid-fifteenth to sixteenth centuries incorporate one of the counterpoints to the canticle tones in preference to the canticle-tone melodies themselves. A feature of the *Magnificat* settings in E is that, in keeping with the treatment of the cantus firmus in settings of other texts, the presentation of the counterpoint is normally reserved for those passages that are scored for full choir. As a result, verses 4 and 8, which are usually scored for reduced forces, tend to avoid references to the counterpoint melody. In the settings by the earlier composers in E a counterpoint is heard normally in the beginnings of verses and as cadential material. A degree of melodic and rhythmic embellishment is introduced in these presentations, particularly with the opening gesture. This approach to the incorporation of pre-existent material mirrors the type of procedures used with a cantus firmus in some settings of the Mass Proper and Offices in P. In such settings a cantus firmus is more apparent in the opening and ending of a section of a composition than in its central parts. In Lambe's *Magnificat*, the paraphrased counterpoint is most noticeable in the triplex, although allusions to it are also possibly made in the contratenor (tenor in *Car*) as well. This manner of presenting a cantus firmus is similar to Lambe's treatment of a cantus firmus in his other works in E.

In Fayrfax's *'Regale' Magnificat*, the opening motif of a counterpoint is not as apparent as is its ending, which is clearly discernible in cadential material in several verses. Not only is the counterpoint melody presented most often in the full-voice passages, but it is mainly evident in the cadential passages associated with the words 'salutari meo' (verse 2), 'mente cordis sui' (verse 6) and 'saeculorum Amen' (verse 12). This manner of presentation of the counterpoint melody is so distinctive for English *Magnificat* settings of this period that examination of the melodic construction in these passages, is one of the most instructive means of ascertaining whether or not the setting is based on a counterpoint to a canticle tone.

A new approach to the introduction of pre-existent material is evident in the *Magnificat* settings by later composers in E. Davy uses a cantus firmus that is unidentified, but is apparently independent of a counterpoint or canticle tone. This is presented in a structural fashion throughout most of the extant music. In his fragmentary *Magnificat*, Browne also includes a structural presentation of a cantus firmus; however, in this case it is the complete counterpoint to tone 1. In this setting, the cantus firmus is not immediately evident in the opening of verse 2, although an elaborated statement eventually emerges in this verse. Its unadorned presentation happens in verse 6, coinciding with the change from *tempus perfectum* to *tempus imperfectum*. The structural cantus firmus treatment of the counterpoint in Browne's setting is repeated in that by Wylkynson, with the additional

technique of incorporating not one, but two counterpoints belonging to different tones. In the surviving music, these two counterpoints are never presented simultaneously.⁵²

The appearance of a complete cantus firmus throughout verses of a *Magnificat* was a technique that had been used regularly by continental composers in the fifteenth century. In continental settings, the cantus firmus may appear in any voice, including its presentation in a structural manner in the highest voice. For example, in Josquin's *Magnificat tertii toni* the canticle tone is presented in a structural manner in the discantus in verse 6, following its earlier elaborated presentation in the tenor in verse 4. In E, the pre-existent melody is normally confined to the tenor voice, although in several settings an ornamented version may be discerned in other voices. In Wylkynson's *Magnificat*, which uses counterpoints to two different tones, the structural statement of the counterpoint to tone 4 migrates to the bassus in verse 4. This is a treatment seen also in Obrecht's four-part *Magnificat*, which features canticle tone 5 in a long-note structural presentation in the discantus in verse 4 and canticle tone 2 in the bassus in verse 8.

Musical response to the text of the *Magnificat* in the Eton settings is largely reserved to emphasis of the words 'in Deo' and 'Abraham'. The sense of the text is articulated primarily by the division of the text by formal means at the mid-point in most verses. The *Magnificat* is a standard liturgical text from the Office which, although derived from the words of Mary, is directed not to the Virgin but rather to God. In the settings of devotional texts in E the appeal is made to the Virgin to act as mediatrix. Articulation of the sense of the text in these is more apparent than it is in the *Magnificat* settings and a more active compositional response to text may be seen in some such settings of devotional poems.

⁵²Similarities between the shape of the melodies for canticle tones 3 and 8, and 1 and 6 are exploited in two *Magnificat* settings by Gombert (c.1490-1560): *Opera Omnia*, IV, 21-37 and 58-70 respectively. Alternative endings are provided so that in one *Magnificat* either canticle tone 3 or canticle tone 8 may be used for the odd-numbered verses, whilst in the other *Magnificat* the performers may choose between canticle tones 1 or 6.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CANTUS FIRMUS

The principal objective of this study was to investigate compositional practice in E. A considerable proportion of the extant compositions incorporate a cantus firmus; thus, the role and use of a cantus firmus was chosen as the central focus for the research. Examination of the cantus firmus procedures in the compositions of the most prolific composer in E, John Browne, and the analysis of the use of a cantus firmus in settings of the principal texts within the collection has led to some general conclusions and propositions about the compositional practice in the Choirbook. These have implications not only for the understanding of this repertoire but possibly also for other English polyphonic music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance period down to 1559.

The layout and the function of a cantus firmus in providing structural cohesion in the large-scale devotional settings found in E have been described in previous studies. Until now, it has been assumed that the cantus firmus has little, if any, role other than purely structural. A significant aspect of this study has been the discovery of the identity of cantus firmi in four compositions in E. These identifications proved to be important for understanding the interrelationships between set text and cantus firmus in compositions by Banester, Browne (see chapter 2) and Wylkynson (see chapter 3). The present analysis has shown that, in certain cases, the cantus firmus appears to have been selected because ideas articulated in the set text may be reinforced by ideas within the cantus firmus. This has been demonstrated as a possibility in some of the compositions by Browne, Banester and Wylkynson as well as in some settings of the *Salve regina* text. This finding introduces a new perspective to our understanding of the use of a cantus firmus in E that goes beyond the structural role to a subtle link between music and text.

The relationship between music and text is one that can be explored on a number of levels. In the past, scholars of fifteenth-century English music have observed correctly that the Eton composers appear to have been largely uninterested in musical pictorialisms of individual words.

The Eton composer's attitude to the text is often very casual. Long phrases on single syllables are common, and the rhythmic complexity is such that, in the words of Erasmus, 'the congregation cannot hear one distinct word'. There is scarcely any evidence of deliberate expressiveness: music for the Eton composer was God-centred, a vehicle for devotion, an aid to it, part of the church's ceremonial, and a reflection of divine order, not a form of entertainment or a means of depicting human emotion.¹

¹Benham, *Latin Church Music*, 3-4.

Although musical depiction of specific ideas in the text is almost entirely absent from the music in E, this study has demonstrated that clarification of the structure and sense of the set text was of particular concern to the Eton composers. The compositional response to a specific text often appears to be intensified by the selection of a complementary cantus firmus. The manner of deployment of a cantus firmus is evidently important for articulating the structure and adding a personal response to a set text on the part of the composer in some settings. Wylykynson, for example, appears to have had a particular devotion to angels, which is manifested in his selection of the chants *Assumpta est Maria* and *Angelus autem Domini* as the cantus firmi in his nine-voice *Salve regina* and *O virgo prudentissima* settings respectively. Thus, an important contribution made by this study has been the proposal that interrelationships between the cantus firmus and set text often appear to be a significant feature of compositional design. As a result of this study, it is postulated that the interrelationships between the cantus firmus and set text merit careful examination.

Aspects of the subtle connections potentially inherent in settings on a cantus firmus by continental composers are attracting attention and study. However, such questions have rarely been directed towards English composition of this period. This study has shown that similarities may exist between facets of continental compositional practice and those contained within E. Parallels may be drawn between the combination of melodies from both liturgical and secular sources in Josquin's *Stabat mater dolorosa*, the anonymous *Ave rosa speciosa* (almost certainly by Regis) and Browne's use of *From Stormy Windes* in his *Stabat iuxta Christi crucem* setting in E (see chapter 2). Interplay between texts is clearly significant in several other works in E by various composers. This study of cantus firmus procedures in E suggests that consideration of the links between text and music within compositions from the last quarter of the fifteenth century at least (if not earlier) should be accorded a more central place in the analysis and interpretation of compositional practice of this period.

Variation in the handling of the cantus firmus among the Eton composers points to diverse approaches to the manner of the integration of a cantus firmus. Greater experimentation with the manipulation of the cantus firmus may be discerned particularly among the younger composers. The range of compositional techniques used by Browne alone confirms that it is no longer appropriate to refer to a general Eton style. The evaluation of the individual compositional styles represented in the Choirbook has begun in the present study. This has already yielded evidence of individualistic approaches to settings of the same text and the possibility of influences from spheres wider than previously thought.

The discovery of a new source for counterpoints to the *Magnificat* tones on flyleaves now preserved in Maidstone, Kent has complemented the collections already

known from the manuscript *GB-Lbl* Royal Appendix 56 and the Sarum Hymnal *GB-Lbl* c. 52. b. 21. Moreover, it has been possible to confirm that the 'Regale' *Magnificat* by Fayrfax is based on the counterpoint to canticle tone 8. The counterpoint for a tone-8 *differentia* that is found in the newly documented Maidstone source is quoted exactly in Fayrfax's *Magnificat*. A further contribution has been made with the discovery of an antecedent in prose form for the rhymed text set by Browne in *E*, *O regina mundi clara*. This raises the possibility that in a similar manner, other devotional poems in rhymed form set by the Eton composers may have been fashioned from prose texts.

This study has embraced an interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of compositions in *E*. By exploring the broader liturgical, historical and iconographic contexts a more comprehensive understanding of the music and its place within the devotional life of the later fifteenth century has been made possible.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A complete analysis of all the extant music from *E* lies beyond the scope of the present study and there is a wealth of information to be drawn from the works not discussed here. Approximately forty compositions included in the original index of the Choirbook are settings of devotional texts in rhymed form. Many of these texts are so far known only from *E* and may well have been written in the latter half of the fifteenth century. A preliminary search for the origins of these texts has resulted in the discovery of one antecedent in prose form (see pp. 46-7). Further searches amongst devotional collections of insular and continental origins may prove fruitful in this respect.

The study of the *Salve regina* settings revealed that a number of compositional decisions made for the Eton settings are also evident in continental settings of this text. Several polyphonic settings are recorded in *E* for the most popular of the devotional texts, *Stabat mater dolorosa* and *Gaude virgo mater Christi*, for which settings by continental composers also survive. In future studies of these settings in *E*, comparisons between English and continental responses to the same text may be productive in refining the proposition of a relationship between text and music.

In a number of Eton compositions, a cantus firmus has important implications for understanding the set text; naturally, this is contingent upon identification of the tenor cantus firmus. Several cantus firmi in *E* have yet to be identified and it is to be hoped that, as with those discovered in this study, their identification will provide further illumination regarding the basis and intention of these compositions.

Modal procedures in late fifteenth-century English music are poorly understood at present. Evidence has been given of the diverse approaches to mode taken by various composers in *E*. The manner in which manipulation of mode in the cantus firmus affects

the ways in which surrounding voices operate requires a lengthier study than is feasible here. The extent to which contemporary treatises on mode may be used as a basis for understanding compositional practice has not yet been established. Until this problem is resolved, agreement upon an appropriate terminology in which to engage discourse on modal procedures will be delayed. However, agreement on terminology is a crucial factor in understanding this issue. For fifteenth-century composers, knowledge of the melodic behaviour of plainsong melodies must have been fundamental to the ways in which melodic lines in polyphonic compositions were initially fabricated. Thus, familiarity with chant melodies may provide a basis from which subsequent questions regarding modal procedures in polyphonic music may be addressed. The possibility that new approaches to the treatment of mode are surfacing in *E* (particularly among the younger composers) warrants closer attention. A dedicated study of modal procedures in *E* is needed to elucidate this most important aspect of fifteenth-century compositional practice.

The multidisciplinary perspective adopted in this study proved to be essential for understanding some of the compositions examined in *E* in a broader context. This methodological approach may well prove particularly relevant to further studies of the relationship between text and music advocated previously.

The devotional texts in *E* are 'Mary-centred' (rather than 'God-centred') and the centrality of the Virgin Mary in the Choirbook is reiterated beautifully in the decoration of Eton College Chapel with a series of frescoes on either side of the chancel of the Chapel which depict miracles involving the Virgin. Together with the frescoes, the surviving music of the Eton Choirbook provides a wonderful remembrance of the late fifteenth-century veneration of the Virgin Mary that figured so prominently in the daily life at Eton College. The investigation of the issues suggested here as further directions for research will facilitate the consideration of *E*'s place not only as a representative of the flowering of English sacred music in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and turn of the sixteenth, but also within the wider context of European music.

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APPENDIX I
FOLIATION REFERENCES IN THE ETON CHOIRBOOK

Order in MS	Ed. no.	Incipit	Attribution	Foliation refs. in this study	Foliation references MB 10-12	Foliation top R-H recto	Foliation lower R-H recto
		Index		a1 ^r	a1L-a1R	1 ^r	1 ^r
1	1	<i>O Maria salvatoris mater</i>	Browne	a1 ^v -a4 ^r	a2L-a4R	1 ^v -4 ^r	1 ^v -4 ^r
2	2	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Kellyk	a4 ^v -b1 ^r	a5L-b1R	4 ^v -8 ^r	4 ^v -8 ^r
3	3	<i>O Maria gratia plena</i>	Lambe	b1 ^v -b5 ^r	b2L-b5R	8 ^v -13 ^v	8 ^v -9 ^v
4	51	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Davy	b1 ^v -b8 ^r	b6L-b8R	14 ^r -15 ^r	10 ^r -11 ^r
5	4	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	Browne	b8 ^v -c3 ^r	c1L-c3R	15 ^v -18 ^r	11 ^v -14 ^r
6	56	<i>O regina caelestis gloriae</i>	Lambe	c3 ^v -c5 ^r	c4L-c5R	20 ^v	14 ^v
7	5	<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	Browne	c5 ^v -c8 ^r	c6L-c8R	21 ^r -23 ^r	15 ^r -17 ^r
8	6	<i>Stabat iuxta Christi crucem</i>	Browne	c8 ^v -d2 ^r	d1L-d2R	23 ^r -25 ^r	17 ^v -19 ^r
9	7	<i>O regina mundi clara</i>	Browne	d2 ^v -d5 ^r	d3L-d5R	25 ^v -28 ^r	19 ^v -22 ^r
10	8	<i>Gaude flore mater Christi</i>	Sturton	d5 ^v -d8 ^r	d6L-d8R	28 ^v -31 ^r	22 ^v -25 ^r
11	57	<i>O virgo prudentissima</i>	Wylkynson	d8 ^v -c3 ^r	e1L-c3R	31 ^v	25 ^v
12	-	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Wylkynson	e3 ^v -e6 ^r	e4L-e6R	-	-
13	-	<i>Salve regina vas mundicie</i>	Fawkyner	e6 ^v -f1 ^r	e7L-f1R	-	-
14	58	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Cornysh	f1 ^v -f3 ^r	f2L-f3R	33 ^r	26 ^r
15	9	<i>Salve regina</i>	Wylkynson	f3 ^v -f6 ^r	f4L-f6R	33 ^v -36 ^r	26 ^v -29 ^r
16	58	<i>Salve regina</i>	Brygeman	f6 ^v -g1 ^r	f7L-g1R	36 ^v & 39 ^r	29 ^v -30 ^r
17	10	<i>Salve regina</i>	Horwood	g1 ^v -g3 ^r	g2L-g3R	39 ^v -41 ^r	30 ^v -32 ^r
18	11	<i>Salve regina</i>	Davy	g3 ^v -g5 ^r	g4L-g5R	41 ^v -43 ^r	32 ^v -34 ^r
19	12	<i>Salve regina</i>	Cornysh	g5 ^v -g7 ^r	g6L-g7R	43 ^v -45 ^r	34 ^v -36 ^r
20	13	<i>Salve regina</i>	Browne	g7 ^v -h1 ^r	g7L-h1R	45 ^v -47 ^r	36 ^v -38 ^r
21	14	<i>Salve regina</i>	Lambe	h1 ^v -h3 ^r	h1L-h3R	47 ^v -49 ^r	38 ^v -40 ^r
22	15	<i>Salve regina</i>	Sutton	h3 ^v -h5 ^r	h4L-h5R	49 ^v -50A ^r	40 ^v -42 ^r
23	16	<i>Salve regina</i>	Hacomplaynt	h5 ^v -h7 ^r	h6L-h7R	50A ^v -52 ^r	42 ^v -44 ^r
24	17	<i>Salve regina</i>	Huchyn	h7 ^v -i1 ^r	h8L-i1R	52 ^v -54 ^r	44 ^v -46 ^r
25	18	<i>Salve regina</i>	Wylkynson	i1 ^v -i3 ^r	i2L-i3R	54 ^v -56 ^r	46 ^v -48 ^r
26	19	<i>Salve regina</i>	Fayrfax	i3 ^v -i5 ^r	i4L-i5R	56 ^v -58 ^r	48 ^v -50 ^r
27	20	<i>Salve regina</i>	Hygons	i5 ^v -i7 ^r	i6L-i7R	58 ^v -60 ^r	50 ^v -52 ^r
28	21	<i>Salve regina</i>	Browne	i7 ^v -k1 ^r	i8L-k1R	60 ^v -62 ^r	52 ^v -54 ^r
29	22	<i>Salve regina</i>	Hampton	k1 ^v -k3 ^r	k2L-k3R	62 ^v -64 ^r	54 ^v -56 ^r
30	23	<i>O Domine caeli terraeque creator</i>	Davy	k3 ^v -k6 ^r	k4L-k6R	64 ^v -67 ^r	56 ^v -59 ^r

Foliation References in the Eton Choirbook

Order in MS	Ed. no.	Incipit	Attribution	Foliation refs. in this study	Foliation references MB 10-12	Foliation top R-H recto	Foliation lower R-H recto
31	24	<i>Salve ihesu mater vera</i>	Davy	k6 ^v -11 ^f	k7L-11R	67 ^v -70 ^f	59 ^v -62 ^f
32	25	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	Davy	11 ^v -14 ^f	12L-14R	70 ^v -73 ^f	62 ^v -65 ^f
33	26	<i>Virgo templum Trinitatis</i>	Davy	14 ^v -17 ^f	15L-17R	73 ^v -76 ^f	65 ^v -68 ^f
34	27	<i>In honore summae matris</i>	Davy	17 ^v -m2 ^f	18L-m2R	76 ^v -79 ^f	68 ^v -71 ^f
35	28	<i>O Maria et Elizabeth</i>	Banester	m2 ^v -m5 ^f	m3L-m5R	79 ^v -82 ^f	71 ^v -74 ^f
36	29	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Horwood	m5 ^v -m7 ^f	m6L-m7R	82 ^v -84 ^f	74 ^v -76 ^f
37	52	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	Horwood	m7 ^v -n1 ^f	m8L-n1R	84 ^v -85 ^f	76 ^v -77 ^v
38	-	<i>O regina caelestis gloriae</i>	Lambe	n1 ^v -n4 ^f	n2L-n4R	-	-
39	-	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Lambe	n4 ^v -n6 ^f	n5L-n6R	-	-
40	-	<i>Virgo gaude gloriosa</i>	Lambe	n6 ^v -n8 ^f	n7L-n8R	-	-
41	-	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	Fayrfax	n8 ^v -o2 ^f	o1L-o2R	-	-
42	-	<i>Ave cuius concepcio</i>	Fayrfax	o2 ^v -o4 ^f	o3L-o4R	-	-
43	-	<i>Quid cantemus innocentes</i>	Fayrfax	o4 ^v -o7 ^f	o5L-o7R	-	-
44	-	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Dunstable	o7 ^v -p1 ^f	o8L-p1R	-	-
45	-	<i>Ave lux totius mundi</i>	Browne	p1 ^v -p4 ^f	p2L-p4R	-	-
46	-	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Browne	p4 ^v -p6 ^f	p5L-p6R	-	-
47	-	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	Cornyshe	p6 ^v -p8 ^f	p7L-p8R	-	-
48	30	<i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	Cornyshe	p8 ^v -q3 ^f	q1L-q3R	88 ^f -90 ^f	78 ^f -80 ^f
49	31	<i>Gaude virgo salutata</i>	Fawkyner	q3 ^v -q5 ^f	q4L-q5R	90 ^v -92 ^f	80 ^v -82 ^f
50	32	<i>Gaude rosa sine spina</i>	Fawkyner	q5 ^v -q8 ^f	q6L-q8R	92 ^v -95 ^f	82 ^v -85 ^f
51	33	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Turges	q8 ^v -r2 ^f	r1L-r2R	95 ^v -97 ^f	85 ^v -87 ^f
52	34	<i>Nesciens mater</i>	Lambe	r2 ^v -r3 ^f	r3L-r3R	97 ^v -98 ^f	87 ^v -88 ^f
53	60	<i>Salve decus castitatis</i>	Wylkynson	r3 ^v -r4 ^f	r4L-r4R	98 ^v	88 ^v
54	61	<i>Ascendit Christus</i>	Huchyn	r4 ^v -r6 ^f	r5L-r6R	99 ^f	89 ^f
55	35	<i>O mater venerabilis</i>	Browne	r6 ^v -s1 ^f	r7L-s1R	99 ^v -101 ^v	89 ^v -91 ^v
56	-	<i>Ad te purissima virgo</i>	Cornyshe	s1 ^v - ?	s2R	-	-
		Blank		t4 ^f	t4R	103 ^f	92 ^f
57	53	<i>Ave lumen gratie</i>	Fayrfax	t4 ^v -t6 ^f	t5L-t6R	103 ^v -104 ^f	92 ^v -93 ^v
58	-	<i>O virgo virginum preclara</i>	Lambe	t6 ^v -t7 ^f	t7L-t7R	-	-
59	54	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	Wylkynson	t7 ^v -v1 ^f	t8L-v1R	107 ^f -108 ^f	94 ^f -95 ^f
60	36	<i>Stabat virgo mater Christi</i>	Browne	v1 ^v -v3 ^f	v2L-v3R	108 ^v -110 ^f	95 ^v -97 ^f
61	37	<i>Stella caeli</i>	Lambe	v3 ^v -v5 ^f	v4L-v5R	110 ^v -112 ^f	97 ^v -99 ^f
62	38	<i>Ascendit Christus</i>	Lambe	v5 ^v -v7 ^f	v6L-v7R	112 ^v -114 ^f	99 ^v -101 ^f

Foliation References in the Eton Choirbook

Order in MS	Ed. no.	Incipit	Attribution	Foliation refs. in this study	Foliation references MB 10-12	Foliation top R-H recto	Foliation lower R-H recto
63	39	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Lambe	v7 ^v -x1 ^f	v8L-x1R	114 ^v -116 ^f	101 ^v -103 ^f
64	40	<i>Gaude flore virginali</i>	Turges	x1 ^v -x3 ^f	x2L-x3R	116 ^v -118 ^f	103 ^v -105 ^f
65	41	<i>Ave Maria mater Dei</i>	Cornysh	x3 ^v -x4 ^f	x4L-x4R	118 ^v -119 ^f	105 ^v -106 ^f
66	42	<i>Gaude virgo mater Christi</i>	Cornysh	x4 ^v -x6 ^f	x5L-x6R	119 ^v -121 ^f	106 ^v -108 ^f
67	55	<i>Gaude virgo salutata</i>	Holyngborne	x6 ^v -y1 ^f	x7L-y1R	121 ^v -123 ^f	108 ^v -110 ^v
68	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Browne	y1 ^v -y4 ^f	y1L-y4R	-	-
69	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Davy	y4 ^v -y7 ^f	y5L-y7R	-	-
70	43	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Nesbett	y7 ^v -z1 ^f	y8L-z1R	124 ^f	111 ^f
71	44	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Horwood	z1 ^v -z3 ^f	z2L-z3R	124 ^v -126 ^f	111 ^v -113 ^f
72	45	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Kellyk	z3 ^v -z6 ^f	z4L-z6R	126 ^v -129 ^f	113 ^f -116 ^f
73	46	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Lambe	z6 ^v -z8 ^f	z7L-z8R	129 ^v -131 ^f	116 ^v -118 ^f
74	62	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Browne	z8 ^v -aa2 ^f	aa1L-aa2R	133 ^f	118 ^v
75	47	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Fayrfax	aa2 ^v -aa4 ^f	aa3L-aa4R	-	-
76	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Brygeman	aa4 ^v -aa6 ^f	aa5L-aa6R	-	-
77	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Wylkynson	aa6 ^v -aa7 ^f	aa7L-aa7R	-	-
78	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Mychelton	aa7 ^v -aa8 ^f	aa8L-aa8R	-	-
79	63	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Wylkynson	aa8 ^v -bb2 ^f	bb1L-bb2R	134 ^f -134 ^v	119 ^f -119 ^v
80	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Cornysh	bb2 ^v -bb4 ^f	bb3L-bb4R	-	-
81	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Browne	bb4 ^v -bb7 ^f	bb5L-bb7R	-	-
82	64	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Sygar	bb7 ^v -cc1 ^f	bb8L-cc1R	137 ^f -137 ^v	120 ^f -120 ^v
83	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Browne	cc1 ^v -cc3 ^f	cc2L-cc3R	-	-
84	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Turges	cc3 ^v -cc5 ^f	cc4L-cc5R	-	-
85	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Turges	cc5 ^v -cc7 ^f	cc6L-cc7R	-	-
86	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Baldwyn	cc7 ^v -dd1 ^f	cc8L-dd1R	-	-
87	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Sygar	dd1 ^v -dd3 ^f	dd2L-dd3R	-	-
88	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Baldwyn	dd3 ^v -dd5 ^f	dd4L-dd5R	-	-
89	-	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Turges	dd5 ^v -dd7 ^f	dd6L-dd7R	-	-
90	65	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Davy	dd7 ^v -ee1 ^f	dd8L-ee1R	138 ^f	121 ^f
91	48	<i>Et exultavit</i>	Stratford	ee1 ^v -ee3 ^f	ee2L-ee3R	138 ^v -140 ^f	121 ^v -123 ^f
		Blank staves		ee3 ^v	ee4L	142 ^v	123 ^v
92	49	<i>Passio Domini in Ramis palmaram</i>	Davy	ee4 ^v -ee9 ^f	ee5 ^v -9	143 ^f -145 ^f	124 ^f -126 ^f
93	50	<i>Ihesus autem transiens/Credo</i>	Wylkynson	ee9 ^v	ee9L	145 ^v	126 ^v
		Index		ee9 ^v	ee9 ^v	145 ^v	126 ^v

APPENDIX II
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *MAGNIFICAT* COUNTERPOINTS:
EDITORIAL COMMENTARY

In the following transcriptions of three sources for *Magnificat* counterpoints, editorial explanation of the contents is given in the left-hand margin before the relevant prefatory staff. The only deviation from this occurs when a designation of a canticle tone appears in the manuscript in the left-hand margin. This placement is retained in the transcription and is distinguishable from editorial additions by appearing in the original Latin form. Designations of tones which occur elsewhere in the sources are also retained in their original places. Thus, 'Sextus Tonus' in C appears in the middle of fol. 195^v above a staff, whilst in N it appears in the left-hand margin on fol. [iv^r]. The mensuration signs O and C are also frequently indicated in the sources in the left-hand margin prior to the relevant staves; these are also retained in the left-hand margins of the transcriptions.

For each original source, the Sarum *differentiae*, written in plainsong notation and the mensural counterpoints are copied successively along the staves. They are normally separated from one another by a vertical stroke through a staff. However, in order to distinguish between them in the following transcriptions, the *differentiae*, written in black-whole, stemless notation and the counterpoints are each copied on to a new staff. This also has the function of demonstrating how the counterpoints may fit with their respective *differentiae* and permits comparisons between versions of the same counterpoint in alternative mensurations and between successive verses of the complete counterpoint melody.

The editorial information given made in the left-hand margin includes:

IDENTIFICATION OF THE CANTICLE TONE

Each new canticle tone, with its set of *differentiae* and counterpoints, is identified by 'Tone 1', 'Tone 2', etc. Empty staves are used to separate the different canticle tones. An empty staff occurring within a series of *differentiae* and counterpoints indicates that such a staff exists in the source; however, it is excised to such an extent that no notes can be discerned on it. This happens only in N as, for example, at the beginning of the final staff on fol. [iii^v]. A stroke scored through a complete staff (as in RA56, fol. 23^v) indicates that this is crossed out in the manuscript itself.


FOLIATION CHANGES

When an entry in the transcription continues over a new folio, the foliation reference is given in brackets, for example, '(fol. 193^v)'.

DIFFERENTIAE AND CORRESPONDING COUNTERPOINTS

Sarum *differentiae* that are copied in plainsong notation in the sources are categorized according to the numbering system adopted in chapter 4 of the thesis (see Example 4.1). The counterpoints to the *differentiae* are identified by the word 'counterpoint'. The complete counterpoint melodies are identified by 'Verse 2', 'Verse 4' etc. In the case of N, where only the counterpoint to canticle tone 1 has any underlay and this only provides text for verse 2 with no attempt to match the text with the music, each new variation of the same counterpoint melody is designated '(Verse 2)', '(Verse 4)' etc.

ACCIDENTALS/SYMBOLS

All editorial additions within the staves are enclosed within square brackets [], apart from accidentals, which appear above the staves over the relevant note. Editorial additions are kept to a minimum and mostly involve places where notes or staves have been partially excised leaving remnants for which editorial suggestion for their note value and pitch is possible. A fermata sign is often found at the mid-point, that is, the medial cadence, and in some instances also above the final cadence in each verse of a counterpoint. These have been retained in the transcriptions. When such a sign is omitted in a counterpoint but included in the other counterpoints for the same canticle tone in the particular source, an editorial fermata sign has been added and is enclosed in square brackets: [].

Time 1

110

[illegible]

Counterspoint

— *continued*

Tone 2 三

fol. 192^r

2.1

[illegible][illegible]

Tono 3
 fol. 193^v
 Verso 2
 Verso 4
 Verso 6
 fol. 193^v recto
 Verso 10
 Verso 12

Vers 12 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.2 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.6 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.3 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.4 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.5 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

3.6 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Chœur *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Tout 4

fol. 194r

4.2

Vers 2 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Vers 4 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Vers 6 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Vers 10 *et - rel in par - ci - pi - o et nuc de dom - pñr; el in dat - cu - ll dat - cu - ll - rum*

Verse 6th
 (Old 1957)
 Verse 10
 Verse 12
 5.2
 Couplet
 Stanza
 5.3
 Couplet
 Stanza

Sextus Tonus

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tone 4

[illegible]

4.1. 

Contrapunto 

Contrapunto 

Neuma 

Neuma quarti toni

Tone 5 

5.1. 

Verso 2 

Verso 3 

Verso 4 

Verso 5 

Verso 6 

Verso 7 

Verso 8 

Verso 9 

Verso 10 

Verso 11 

Verso 12 

5.2. 

Contrapunto 

Contrapunto 

Neuma 

Neuma quarti toni

[illegible]

[illegible]

MAGNIFICAT COUNTERPOINTS
MAIDSTONE, CENTRE FOR KENTISH STUDIES, MS NR/IB6, fols [iii^r] - [iv^v]

Tone 8

Octavus Tonus

fol. [iii^r]

(3.4)

(Verse 2) 

(Verse 4) 

(Verse 6) 

(Verse 8) 

(Verse 10) 

(Verse 12) 

8.1 

Counterpoint 

Counterpoint 

8.2 

Counterpoint 

Counterpoint 

8.5 

Counterpoint 

Counterpoint 

Tone 2

(2.1) E^{\flat}B

Cantus firmus

Tone 1

Primus Tonus

Ed. [103]

1.2

(1.3)

1.7

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

1.5

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

1.9

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

1.4

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

1.6

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

1.8

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

Detailed description: This page contains five systems of musical notation, each labeled with a number (1.7, 1.5, 1.9, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8) and a 'Counterpoint' label. Each system consists of three staves. The top staff of each system contains a main melody with various note values and rests. The two staves below are labeled 'Counterpoint' and contain complementary lines. The notation includes various note heads, stems, beams, and rests, with some measures containing multiple notes beamed together. The systems are arranged vertically on the page.

The musical score for 'The Rose Tree' is presented in three parts: Soprano, Countersoprano, and Contrapunt. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 2/4. The Soprano part begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The Countersoprano part begins with a soprano clef and a key signature of one flat. The Contrapunt part begins with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a simple, folk-like style with a melody that is repeated in the Contrapunt part. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Tome 2

fol. [iv^v]

The first system of musical notation for 'The Rose Tree' is written on a single five-line staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some notes beamed together. There are several bracketed groups of notes, indicating phrasing or specific rhythmic patterns. The notation is in a standard musical font, with clear note heads and stems.

Contrapunto

Contrapunto

Counterpoint

Counterpoint

Contrapunto

[illegible]

(Verse 2)

♩ 4/4



(Verse 4)

♩ 4/4



(Verse 6)

♩ 4/4



(Verse 8)

♩ 4/4



(Verse 10)

♩ 4/4



3.2

Contemporain

♩ 4/4



(Verse 12)

♩ 4/4



APPENDIX III
EDITIONS OF FRAGMENTARY COMPOSITIONS IN THE ETON
CHOIRBOOK: EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES



ATTRIBUTIONS/INCIPITS

Names of some composers appear in varying forms in E. The modern standardized versions are used here, i.e. Cornysh, in preference to Cornysch, and Huchyn, instead of Huchynge. Similarly, the spelling 'Cristi' in incipits has been modernized to 'Christi'.

VOICES/CLEFS

Voice designations supplied in E are retained, with editorial voice designations included in square brackets. The ambitus of each individual voice for the extant passages is shown in stemless notation immediately following the prefatory staves and modern clef. Modern clefs have been substituted for medieval ones, with the original clefs shown in the prefatory staves.

NOTATION

Note-values are halved so that an original breve has been transcribed as a modern semibreve. In the critical reading, note-values are abbreviated and are shown in lower-case italicized type: *br* = breve, *sb* = semibrevis, *m* = minim, *sm* = semiminim. Ligatures and coloration are indicated in the usual manner:  and .

MENSURATION SIGNS/BARRING/SYMBOLS

The initial mensuration sign for each voice is shown in the prefatory staff. Subsequent alterations are noted in the order: mensuration sign, voice, bar number and text incipit. O, *tempus perfectum* is transcribed as $\frac{3}{2}$, and C and C are transcribed as $\frac{2}{2}$. No distinction is made between *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione minori* and *tempus imperfectum diminutum*. Modern barring is employed, with double-bar lines indicating a single vertical stroke through a staff in the manuscript. Fermata signs are regularly used in E and these are retained in the editions with editorial signs given in square brackets.

SIGNATURE/ACCIDENTALS

Original placement of signatures has been adhered to as far as possible in preference to Harrison's decision to move signature alterations to the beginnings of new sections. This has been considered a necessary part in the understanding of how the Eton composers may have viewed modal behaviour. On rare occasions, an editorial signature has been added where one is apparently missing (as in the first staff in Davy's *Magnificat* setting). Such editorial signatures are included in square brackets.

Editorial accidentals are kept to a minimum, because the absence of voices means that categorical verification of the prevailing harmony is not always possible. Therefore, they are confined to places where false relations may be incurred and to avoid augmented fourths arising particularly between F and B[♯], and B[♯] and E. The sharpening of the semitone beneath a cadential note (the leading note) does not appear to have been always intended in some Eton compositions; indeed, a preference for the flattened seventh is evident in several pieces. Editorial accidentals at these points are added with caution and only when it seems likely that these were intended. In some of the compositions by later composers (and especially those by Cornysh) there appear accidentals written in a later hand. For this reason, editorial accidentals occur with greater frequency in the settings by Cornysh, Brygeman and Wylkynson in the following editions. Editorial accidentals are shown above the specific notes to which they refer. Accidentals appearing in rounded brackets above staves indicate that alteration of a note appears to be necessary but cannot be confirmed because other voices are missing. Original placement of accidentals in E is noted in the Commentary.

TEXT AND UNDERLAY

Modern spelling of the Latin texts has been adopted. Text originally appearing copied in red ink in the manuscript is indicated here by way of underlined text. Text written in black ink in the manuscript is not underlined. Editorial changes ensuring conformity between voices written in black and red inks with the same passage of text have not been made. The reasons for this are firstly that, in some cases without the full complement of voices, it cannot be stated categorically whether black or red ink is correct and secondly, the retention of the original ink colour in the texting of the editions permits consideration of the question of whether red ink may or may not have indicated solo as well as reduced-voice passages.

For the most part, careful attention to the placing of text underlay is evident in the manuscript. However, further clarification may be discerned in a number of compositions where oblique lines are drawn between syllables of the text and notes on the staff above verifying text placement, and demonstrating that at some stage these pieces were performed from the Choirbook. The text is normally written at the beginning of a musical phrase, with the last syllable of the final word written following a melisma, at the end of the

phrase. However, in Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima* the final syllable of a text phrase is often placed at a considerable distance from the last note of the musical phrase, and is often followed instead by a melismatic melody. There is no evidence that this is a scribal error; instead, it suggests a change in musical practice, whereby melismatic lines are not inserted in the middle of words, but rather follow the ends of text phrases.

NOTATION

Black-full notation is that used most frequently in E with black-void minims and flagged semiminims. Coloration is indicated either by way of red full or red void notation and is shown in the editions in the usual manner: $\color{red}{\text{r}}$. Rhythmic patterns in triplets are usually indicated by coloration and '3.2' written beneath the relevant notes.

INITIALS

Two principal types of decoration are used in E. That used in many compositions for the first initial of the text, often (but not always) in every part, consists of gold and coloured decoration. The most frequently encountered decoration of this type involves the so-called 'cabbage-head' motif (acanthus) framed by a border in gold. A variety of animals are also seen, including lacertines, goblin-like creatures, griffins and wolves. Historiated initials are used in Lambe's *Salve regina* and Banester's *O Maria et Elizabeth*. A secondary initial type is used for some initial letters, occurring sometimes at the opening of a composition, but more usually at the beginning of subsequent sections. These are decorated in red and blue inks and are larger in size than the following text, often taking up the vertical space of two or more staves. A detailed description of the initial decoration in E requires a separate study; the following brief descriptions are intended only as an indication of the presence of such decoration in the edited compositions.

CANTUS FIRMUS

A cantus firmus is present in the surviving music in five of the newly edited compositions: Lambe's *O regina caelestis gloriae*, Wylkynson's *O virgo prudentissima* and the *Magnificat* settings by Wylkynson, Browne and Davy. The identity of that in the latter remains unknown, however, those for the compositions by Lambe, Wylkynson and Browne are provided from the sources noted in Table 1.2 and from the transcriptions of the *Magnificat* counterpoints in Appendix II.

LAYOUT OF THE CRITICAL READING

The critical reading is arranged by voice. Consequently, changes in signature, *musica ficta* and accidentals may be viewed more easily in terms of alterations in modal behaviour in individual voices. Bar numbers are followed by commentary, with abbreviations for note values as noted above. References to pitches are made in capitalized Roman type. When the same note appears more than once in a bar a superscript number precedes the specific note referred to, i.e. ¹F indicates the first F in the bar. A tied note that is carried over into a bar is counted as the first note; however, a tied note appearing within a bar is counted as one note.

O regina caelestis gloriae

Fol. c3^v

WALTER LAMBE

[Triplex]  *o re-*

[Medius] 

[Tenor] 

[Contratenor]  *o re-gi-*

[Secundus Contratenor] 

[Bassus] 

[Tr]  *gi - na cae - les - tis glo - ri - ae dig - ni - ta - tis et ex - cel - len - ti - e*

[T] 

[C]  *na cae - les - tis glo - ri - ae dig - ni - ta - tis et ex - cel - len - ti - e*

[Tr]  *per te no - bis o ma - fer ve - ni - e re - mit - ta - tur pon - dus re - qui - ci -*

[T] 

[C]  *per te no - bis o ma - fer ve - ni - e re - mit - ta - tur*

[Tr]  *gem - ma si - des splen - do - ris ni - vi - li lu - na ful - gens im -*

[T] 

[C]  *pon - dus re - qui - ci - e gem - ma si - des splen - do - ris ni - vi - li lu -*

20

[Tr] *men-ti-ra-di-i* *de-so-la-tis spes ple-na gau-di-*

[T]

[C] *- na sol-ge-ns im-men-si-ra-di-i* *de-so-la-tis spes ple-na*

45

[Tr] *- i por-tus no-bis sis re-fri-ge-ri*

[T]

[C] *gau-di-i por-tus no-bis sis re-fri-ge-ri*

80

[Tr] *- i*

[T] *o re-gi-na de-us ce-le-sti-um mi-se-re-ro-rum spes*

[C]

35

[Tr]

[T] *et re-fu-gi-cum*

[C]

[Tr] 40

[T] *o a - diu - trix te de - pre - can - ti - um tu - um pro no - bis o - ra*

[C]

[Tr] 45

[T] *fi - li*

[C]

[Tr] 50

[T] *Stel - la mi - cans ple - na*

[C] *um Stel - la mi*
hodie in iordane
Stel - la mi
magi videntes stellam

[Tr] 55

[T] *ful - go - ri bus vi - tam proe - bens te in -*

[C] *cans ple*
cans pre - na ful

[Tr] ⁶⁰
- du - en - ti -
[T]
na
[C] - go - ri - bus vi - tam proe - bens

[Tr] ⁶⁵
- bus e - mun - da - tos cul - pa - rum
[T]
ful - go -
[C] te in -

[Tr] ⁷⁰
sor - di - bus
[T] - ri - bus vi -
[C] - tu -

[Tr] ⁷⁵ ⁸⁰
nos ca - ter - vis
[T] - tam proe - bens te
[C] - en - ti - bus

[Tr] *in - ge - cae - le - sti - bus vir-*

[T] *in - tu - en-*

[C] *e - - - - - mun -*

[Tr] *go ma - nens et ma - fer ra - gi -*

[T] *- ti - - - - - bus e -*

[C] *da - tos cul - pa - rum*

[Tr] *- - - - - a - te be - a -*

[T] *- - - - - mun - da - tos*

[C] *ser - di - bus nos cu - fer - vis*

[Tr] *- - - - - tam fa - ten - tur om - ni -*

[T] *cul - pa -*

[C] *in - ge - ce -*

[Tr] *a me - ri - to - rum pri - vi - le - gi.*
 [T] *- rum sor - di - bus pri -*
 [C] *- le - sti - bus, vir -*

[Tr] *- a ex - pli - ca - re ne -*
 [T] *- vi - le - gi - a. ex - pli -*
 [C] *- go ex - pli -*

[Tr] *- quit ec - cle - si -*
 [T] *- ca - re ne - quit ec -*
 [C] *- ca - re ne -*

[Tr] *- a.*
 [T] *- cle - si - a.*
 [C] *- quit ec - cle - si - a.*

O virgo prudentissima

ROBERT WYLYNINSON

Fol. d8v

[Triplex]

[Medius]

[Tenor]

[Primus Contratenor]

[Secundus Contratenor]

[Bassus]

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

ir - go pru - den - tis - si - ma

ir - go pru - den - tis - si - ma

Quam

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

quan - ce - lo mi - nus Ga - bri - el

Su - per - mi - re - ris

ce - lo mi - nus Ga - bri - el

[Tr] ²⁰

[T] *nun - ti - us* *Plé - nam tes - ta - tur gra -*

[PC] *Plé - nam tes - ta - tur gra - ti - a*

[Tr] ²⁵

[T] *ti - a*

[PC]

[Tr] ³⁰ *Cui - us de - vo - ta ho - mi - li -*

[T]

[PC]

[Tr] ³⁵ *- tas* *Gem - mus or - na - ta ful - gi - dis*

[T]

[PC]

43.

[Tr] Fi - den - ti - as con - sci - en - ti - ae

[T]

[PC]

44.

[Tr] A - mo - re De - um fa - pu - it.

[T]

[PC]

50.

[Tr] Te spo - nam fac - tor om - ni - um.

[T] Te spo - nam fac - tor om - ni - um.

[PC] Te spo - nam fac - tor om - ni - um.

55.

[Tr]

[T] Te ma - tem de -

[PC] Te ma - tem de -

[Tr] 60.
 [T] *re* vo - cat tra - bi - ta - cu - lum
 [PC] - li fi - li - us,

[Tr]
 [T] *Su - um be - a - tus spi - ri - tus*
 [PC] *Su - um be - a - tus spi - ri - tus*

[Tr] 65.
 [T]
 [PC]

[Tr] 70
 [T] *Per te de te - tro car - ce - re*
 [PC] *Per te de te - tro car - ce - re*

75.

[Tr] An - ti - qui pa - tres ex - e - unt.

[T]

[PC] An - ti - qui pa - tres ex - e - unt.

80.

[Tr] Per te no - bis as - tri - fe - rae.

[T]

[PC] Per te no - bis as - tri - fe - rae.

85.

[Tr] san - dan - tur au -

[T]

[PC] san - dan - tur

90.

[Tr] - le lu - mi - na

[T] pan - dan

[PC] au - le lu - mi - na

95.

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

- tur

100.

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

lu - - - mi - - -

[Tr]

[T]

[PC]

na.

Gaude flore virginali

Fol. f3^r

WILLIAM CORNYSH

[Triplex]

[Medius] *Gaude* *gaude* *de*

[Tenor]

[Primus Contratenor]

Inferior Contratenor *O*

Bassus *O*

[M] *ma* *fer*

IC

B

[M] *mi - se - ro - rum* *Gau*

IC

B

[M] *a* *pa* *fer* *de*

IC

B

25 30

[M] *cu - lo - rum*

IC

B

35

[M] *2a - bl - re co -*

IC

B

40

[M] *len - ti - bus*

IC

B

45

[M] *Can -*

IC

B *Can -*

[M] 50

IC *gru - en - - - - - tem hic mer - ce - - - -*

B *gru - en - - - - - tem hic mer - - - -*

[M] 55 60

IC *- - - - - dem et fe -*

B *- - - - - ce - - - - - dem et fe - li - cem*

[M] 65

IC *- li - dem po - li se - dem Re - - - - - gnus in*

B *po - li se - - - - - dem Re - - - - - gnus*

[M] 70

IC *coe - - - - - le - - - - - sei - - - - -*

B *in coe - le - - - - - sei - - - - -*

[M] ⁷⁵
 IC *Gau* *de*
 B *- bus.* *Gau* *de* *vir*

[M] ⁸⁰
 IC *vir* *go* *ma*
 B *vir* *go* *ma*

[M] ⁸⁵
 IC *- go* *ma* *ter* *Chri* *st* *Gu* *a*
 B *ter* *Chri* *st* *Gu*

[M] ⁹⁰
 IC *Gu* *a* *so*
 B *Gu* *a* *so*

[M] ¹⁵⁰
me - ru - l -
IC - la me - ru - l -
B - la me - ru - l - st,

[M] ¹⁵⁵
st, O vir -
IC st, O vir - go pi - s -
B O vir - go

[M] ¹⁶⁰
- go pi - s - si - ma, Es - se
IC si - ma, Es - se fan -
B pi - s - si - ma, Es -

[M] ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁷⁰
tan - tae di - gn -
IC - tae di -
B - se tan - tae di - gn -

[M] *125*
 - ta - - - - - tis *Quod* sis san - ctus
 IC *125*
 - gni - ta - - - - - tis *Quod* sis
 B
 - ta - - - - - tis *Quod* sis san - ctus

[M] *130*
 tri - - - ni - fa - tis ses - - si -
 IC
 san - ctus tri - - - ni - fa - tis
 B
 tri - ni - ta - - - - - tis ses -

[M] *135*
 o - - - ni pro - xi -
 IC
 ses - si o - - - ni
 B
 - si - - o - - - ni pro - xi -

[M] *140*
 - - - - - ma,
 IC
 - - - - - *Grav* -
 B
 - - - - - *ma*

[M] ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁵⁰

IC

B

de vir go ma

IC

B

ter pu

[M] ¹⁶⁰

IC

B

ser - ta ma - - - nens et se - - -

ra

[M] ¹⁶⁵

IC

B

cu - - - ra

Quod haec se - - -

Quod haec se - - -

[M] *prem gau - di - a Non ces -*

IC *prem gau - di - a Non*

B *gau - di - a*

Handwritten musical score for three voices: [M] (Soprano), IC (Alto), and B (Bass). The music is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: "Non cresca bunt nec de". The score includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a common time signature. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing on multiple lines. The score is handwritten and includes a large bracket on the left side grouping the three staves.

[illegible][illegible]

[M] 195
 IC - bunt et flo - re - cent
 B du - ra - bunt per e - ter - na
 - bunt et flo - re - cent

[M] 200
 IC Per ae - ter - na
 B se - cu - la A Per ae - ter - na se - cu -

[M] 205 210
 IC se - cu - la A
 B ia A

[M] [m]
 IC men
 B men
 [m] men

Salve regina

WILLIAM BRYGEMAN

Fol. f6^v

[Triplex] *Salve* *Sal - ve re - gi*

Medius

[Tenor] *Salve* *Sal - ve re - gi*

[Contratenor] *Salve* *Sal - ve re - gi*

[Bassus]

[Tr] *na, ma ter*

[T] *na, ma ter*

[C] *na, ma ter*

[Tr] *mi se - ri - cor - di*

[T] *mi se - ri - cor - di*

[C] *mi se - ri - cor -*

[Tr] *di - a e: vi*

[T] *di - a e: vi*

[C] *di - a e: vi*

[Tr] *la,* *25*

[T] *la,*

[C] *la,*

[Tr] *30* *r* *dui - ce*

[T] *dui*

[C] *dui* *dui - ce*

[Tr] *35* *r* *do*

[T] *ce* *do*

[C] *do* *et* *spx3*

[Tr] *40* *Sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su -*

[T] *no - stra,* *Sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - des*

[C] *no - stra,* *Sal - ve. Ad te cla - ma - mus, ex - su - des*

[Tr] *les fi-li E - - - - -* ⁴⁵ *Ad te su-spi-ra - mus,*

[T] *les fi-li E - - - - -* *Ad te su-spi-ra - mus,* *ge-men-*

[C] *les fi-li E - - - - -* *Ad te su-spi-ra - mus,* *ge-men-*

[Tr] *et* *fin* *- - - - -* *les* *in hac la-ori-ma - - - - - rum* ⁵⁰

[T] *et* *fin* *- - - - -* *les* *in hac la-ori-ma - - - - - rum*

[C] *les* *et* *fin - tes* *in* *hac la-ori-ma - - - - - rum*

[Tr] *rol* *- - - - -* *ss ff* *- - - - -* *le* *- - - - -*

[T] *rol* *- - - - -* *ss ff* *- - - - -* *le* *- - - - -*

[C] *rol* *- - - - -* *ss ff* *- - - - -* *le* *- - - - -*

[Tr] *le* *- - - - -* *E - - - - -* *ia* *er -*

[T] *le* *- - - - -* *E - - - - -* *ia* *er -*

[C] *le* *- - - - -* *E - - - - -* *ia* *er -*

65

[Tr]

[T] *ad-ve-ca-ta no-*

[C]

70

[Tr]

[T] *glia i-las fu-*

[C]

75

[Tr]

[T] *mi-se-ri-cor-dias o-cu-lis ad ho-mi-nes*

[C]

80

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

85

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

90

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

Et

Je

Je

Je

Je

95

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

sum,

be - ne - di - ctum fru -

sum,

be - ne - di - ctum

100

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

ctum

ven

tris

fru

ctum

ven

tris

fru - ctum ven - tris

105

[Tr] tu - li no - bis post hoc

[T] post hoc

[C] fu - li no - bis post hoc

110

[Tr] ex - si - li - um o - ven -

[T] ex - si - li - um

[C] ex - si - li - um

120

[Tr] o - ven -

[T] o - ven -

[C] o - ven -

[Tr] de

[T] de

[C] de

Fol. g¹r

Medius

Funde Fun - de pre - ces tu - o na -

[Contratenor]

Funde Fun - de pre - ces tu -

Bassus

Funde Fun - de pre - ces tu -

M

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

[C]

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

B

o na - to cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

M

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

[C]

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

B

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

M

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

[C]

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

B

cu - ci - fi - xo, vi - ne - ra -

M *150*

[C]

B

M *155*

[C]

B

M *160*

[C]

B

to

to

M *165*

[C]

B

et pro no bis sta - - gel - la -

M *ms* *ro*

[C]

B *to* *Spi* *as* *pun* *co* *gi*

M *ms*

[C]

B *le* *po* *ta*

M *ro* *as*

[C]

B

M *ro*

[C]

B

M 205

[C] *to*

B *to*

M 210

[C] *dul*

B *dul*

M 215

[C] *dul*

B

M 225

[C] *ci*

B *ci*

M 230 235

na - ri - a Sol

[C] a Sol

B a Sol

M 240

[C]

B

M 245 [v]

[C] [v]

B [v]

Salve decus castitatis

ROBERT WYLYNSON

Fol. r3^v

[Triplex] *Salve* *Sal - ve de - cus ca - sti - ta -*

[Medius]

[Tenor] *Salve* *Sal - ve de - cus ca - sti - ta -*

[Contratenor] *flos*

[Bassus]

[Tr] *ris fons o - ri - go pi - e - ta -*

[T] *ris fons o - ri - go pi - e - ta -*

[C]

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

[Tr] *4* *20*
*ti*s *ti*s et gem - ma vir - gi -

[T] *ti*s

[C] *ti*s et gem - ma vir - gi -

[Tr] *17* *25*

[T]

[C]

[Tr] *30* *rum*

[T]

[C] *rum*

[Tr] *35*
 ma - ter Chri - ste

[T] *35*
 ma - ter Chri - ste *rum - plum de - i vi -*

[C] *35*
 ma - ter Chri - ste *rum - plum de - i vi -*

[Tr] *tem - pli de - i vi - a vi - re*

[T] *a vi - re*

[C] *a vi - re*

[Tr] *por - ta spe -*

[T] *por - ta spe -*

[C] *por - ta spe -*

[Tr] *ca spe - li vi - ta*

[T] *ca spe - li vi - ta*

[C] *ca spe - li vi - ta*

[Tr] *sa - lus no -*

[T] *sa - lus no -*

[C] *sa - lus no -*

55

[Tr] *ho*

[T] *mi*

[C]

60

[Tr] *num*

[T] *num*

[C] *nos spi - re*

65

[Tr]

[T] *ti no - sa mun*

[C]

70

[Tr]

[T] *di nos im - pu - ti nos im - mun*

[C]

80

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

15

[Tr]

[T]

95

[Tr]

[T]

ten - den -

di

100

[Tr]

[T]

tes in in - vi

105

[Tr]

[T]

um re - so - ce - mur tu - a pre -

re - so - ce - mur tu - a pre -

115

[Tr]

[T]

ce ne damp - ne

ce ne damp - ne

120

[Tr]

[T]

mur di - ra ne

mur di - ra ne - ce

25 100

[Tr] *no - bis sis re - me - o - li - um A -*

[T] *no - bis sis re - me - o - li - um A -*

135

[Tr]

[T]

160 145

[Tr]

[T]

150 8

[Tr] *men*

[T] *men*

Ascendit Christus

NICHOLAS HUCHYN

Fol. r6^r

[Triplex]

Medius

[Tenor]

[Contratenor]

[Bassus]

M

[C]

[B]

M

[C]

[B]

M

[C]

[B]

270

M *30* *et* *et* *35*

[C]

[B]

This system shows the first system of music. The vocal line (M) begins with a measure rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment (C and B) consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The system ends with a measure rest in the vocal line and a half note G4 in the piano accompaniment.

M *40* *fix* *mi*

[C]

[B]

This system shows the second system of music. The vocal line (M) begins with a measure rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment (C and B) consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The system ends with a measure rest in the vocal line and a half note G4 in the piano accompaniment.

M *45* *ran* *et*

[C]

[B]

This system shows the third system of music. The vocal line (M) begins with a measure rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment (C and B) consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The system ends with a measure rest in the vocal line and a half note G4 in the piano accompaniment.

M *50* *55*

[C]

[B]

This system shows the fourth system of music. The vocal line (M) begins with a measure rest, followed by a half note G4, a quarter note A4, and a half note B4. The piano accompaniment (C and B) consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The system ends with a measure rest in the vocal line and a half note G4 in the piano accompaniment.

M [60]

[C]

[B]

M [65]

[C]

[B]
ce - le - stis cu

M [70]

[C]

[B]
ps - al - or -

M [80]

[C]

[B]
di - ti

M 85

[C]

[B]

M 90 95

[C]

[B]

Ad a.e. - He.

bis Ad

M 100 105

[C]

[B]

ri - - - - - um per - ve -

a.e. - He - - - - - ri - - - - -

M 110

[C]

[B]

um per - ve -

115

M *nit* *ha - la*

[C] *nit* *ha - la - mui,*

[B] *et* *ha*

120 125

M *gao* *pi - a su -*

[C] *gao* *pi - a su -*

[B] *la - mui, gao pi - a su -*

130

M *i me - mo - rum im - me -*

[C] *i me - mo - rum im - me -*

[B] *i me - mo - rum im - me -*

135 140

M *rum ne - gua - guam*

[C] *mor ne - gua - quam ex -*

[B] *mor ne - gua - quam ex -*

M *ex* *sl* *45*

[C] *5*

[B] *5*

M *50*

[C]

[B]

M *55* *#* *4* *slat*

[C] *slat*

[B] *slat*

Magnificat

JOHN BROWNE

Fol. z8^v

[Triplex] Et ex-ul-ta-

[Medius]

[Tenor] Et ex-ul-ta-

[Contratenor] Et

[Bassus]

[Tr] nit spi-ri-tus me-

[T] nit spi-ri-tus me-

[C] Et ex-ul-ta-nit spi-ri-tus

[Tr] us;

[T] us;

[C] me us; in De-

[Tr]

[T] sa-lu-ta-

[C] o sa-lu-ta-

20

[Tr] *sa - lu - ta - ri me -*

[T]

[C] *me -*

15

[Tr] *me -*

[T]

[C] *me -*

20

[Tr]

[T]

[C]

25

[Tr] *Qui - a - ge - rit*

[T]

[C]

[Tr] *40* *hi ma*

[T]

[C]

[Tr] *45* *ga qui po tens*

[T]

[C]

[Tr] *50* *est et sacrum no*

[T] *et sacrum no*

[C]

[Tr] *55* *men e*

[T]

[C]

[Tr] 
 [T] 
 [C] 

60
 [Tr] 
 [T] 
 [C] 

45
 [Tr] 
 [T] 
 [C] 

70 75
 [Tr] 
 [T] 
 [C] 

cit po - ten - ti - am in bra - chi - o
 cit po - ten - ti - am in

80
 [Tr] 
 [T] 
 [C] 

bra chi - o

[Tr] *85* *90* *dis*

[T] *dis*

[Tr] *95* *men*

[T] *per - sit su - per - bos men*

[Tr] *100* *105* *te cor*

[T] *te cor dis su*

[Tr] *110* *dis su*

[T] *dis su*

[Tr]

[T]

Magnificat

Fol. bb) 1^r

ROBERT WYLKYNSON

[Triplex]

[Medius] Et ex - sul - ta - ri - ti - o;

Primus Tenor

Contratenor

Secundus Tenor Et ex - sul - ta - ri - ti - o;

[Bassus] Et ex - sul - ta - ri - ti - o;

[M] me

ST - sul - ta - ri - ti - o;

[B] - ti - o;

[M] me

ST - ti - o;

[B] - ti - o;

[M] 15 us; In De -

ST - us; In De -

[B] - us; In De -

[M] ²⁰

ST

[B]

First system of a musical score. It consists of three staves: a vocal staff (M), a piano staff (ST), and a bass staff (B). The vocal staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. It begins with a measure marked '20'. The piano staff has a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and contains chords. The bass staff has a bass clef and contains a single note 'Sa' at the end of the system.

[M] ²⁵

ST

[B]

Second system of the musical score. It continues with the same three staves. The vocal staff has lyrics: 'lu - ta - ri me'. The piano staff has lyrics: 'Sa - lu - ta - ri me'. The bass staff has lyrics: 'lu - ta - ri me'. The system is marked with a measure number '25'.

[M] ³⁰

ST

[B]

Third system of the musical score. It continues with the same three staves. The vocal staff has a measure marked '30'. The piano staff has a measure marked '30'. The bass staff has a measure marked '30'. The system is marked with a measure number '30'.

[M] ³⁵

ST

[B]

Fourth system of the musical score. It continues with the same three staves. The vocal staff has lyrics: 'Qui - a'. The piano staff has lyrics: 'Qui - a'. The bass staff has lyrics: 'Qui - a'. The system is marked with a measure number '35'.

[M] *40*
 ST *é - cit mi - hi ma - gna*
 [B] *mi - hi ma - gna qui po -*

[M]
 ST *qui po - lens*
 [B] *lens*

[M] *45*
 ST *est:*
 [B] *est:*

[M] *50*
 ST *Et san -*
 [B]

55

[M] 

ST 
cum no

[B] 

60

[M] 

ST 
men e

[B] 

65

[M] 

ST 

[B] 

70

[M] 

ST 
ius

[B] 

Fe -
Fe -
Fe -

[M] ⁷⁵ ⁸⁰
 ST *cit po -*
 [B] *cit po - - ten - ti -*

[M] ⁸⁵
 ST *ten - ti - am in bra - chi*
 [B] *po - - ten - ti - am in*
am in bra - chi - o su -

[M] ⁹⁰
 ST *bra - chi - o su -*
 [B] *su -*

[M] ⁹⁵ ¹⁰⁰
 ST *dis - per - sit su - per -*
 [B] *dis - per - sit su - per -*

[M] *as*

ST

[B]

[M] *ad*

ST *bas men*

[B] *men - - - te cor -*
men - - - te cor - - dis

[M] *as* *ad*

ST *te cor -* *dis tu -*

[B] *dis su -* *su -*

[M] *as*

ST *é - su - ri - en -*

[B] *é -*

[M] *do*
- tes im - ple -
ST *E* - - su - ri - en - - tes im -
[B]

[M] *135*
- ple
ST
[B]

[M] *140* *145*
- - - - -
ST *140* *145*
[B]

[M] *150*
- - - - -
ST
[B]

185

[M] *185*

ST *185*

[B] *185*

Fol. bb) IV

160

[triplex] *160*

[medius]

Primus Tenor *Et*

contratenor *Et* *di - u - ter*

Secundus Tenor

[Bassus]

165

[Tri] *165*

PT *di - mi - ni - a*

C *di - mi - ni - a*

170

[Tri] *170*

PT *a*

C *a*

[Tr] *do*

PT

C

[Tr] *res*

PT

C

[Tr] *190*

PT

C

si - cut lo -

nes. si - cut lo - cu -

[Tr] *195*

PT

C

cu - tus est ad pa -

- cut lo - cu - tus est ad

- tus est ad pa -

[Ti] *400*
PT *tres* *no*
C *pa tres* *no*
tres no

[Ti] *405*
PT *shot,* *A*
C *shot,* *A* *bra-ham*

[Ti] *410*
PT *bra-ham*
C

[Ti] *415*
PT *Et se-mi-ni* *e-*
C *Et se-mi-ni* *e-*

48

[Tr]

PT

C

pu - ai e - ius in se -

ius in se -

220

[Tr]

PT

C

cu

cu

cu

225

[Tr]

PT

C

la

la

la

230

[Tr]

PT

C

cu e

[Tr] *in prin - ci - pi* 235

PT *rat*

C *in prin - ci - pi*

[Tr] 240

PT

C

[Tr]

PT

C

[Tr] 245

PT *et sen* 250

C

255

[Tr] 

PT 

C 

[Tr]  per et in se - cu - la

PT  et in se

C  et in se cu

260

[Tr]  se - cu - lo

PT  - cu - lo se - cu - lo

C  - cu - lo se - cu - lo

265

[Tr]  rum. A

PT  rum. A

C  rum. A

210

[Tr]

PT

C

men.

men.

men.

Magnificat

Fol. bb^{8r}

(JOHN) SYGAR

[Medius]

[Contratenor]

[Tenor]

[Bassus]

[C] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[B] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[C] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[B] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[C] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[B] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[C] *Et ex-ul-ta*

[B] *Et ex-ul-ta*



[C] *ff* *55* *45* *cfum* *no*

[B] *55* *cfum* *no*

[C] *60* *men* *c*

[B] *men* *c*

[C] *65* *men* *c*

[B] *men* *c*

[C] *70* *men* *c*

[B] *men* *c*

[C] *75* *fe*

[B] *fe*

[C] *80* *cit*

[B] *cit* *po* *ten*

[C] ⁸⁵ po - ten - ti - - - - - am in bra - chi - -

[B] - ti - - - - - am

[C] ⁹⁵ - - - - - in bra - chi - - - - - o

[B] - - - - - in bra - chi - - - - - o

[C] ¹⁰⁰ su - - - - - ¹⁰⁵ - - - - -

[B] - - - - - su - - - - -

[C] ¹¹⁰ - - - - -

[B] - - - - -

[C] ¹¹⁵ - - - - -

[B] - - - - -

[C] ¹²⁰ - - - - - ¹²⁵ dis - - - - - per - - - - -

[B] dis - - - - - per - - - - -

[C] 130

[B] su - pe

[C] 135 140

[B] men -

[C] 145

[B] men - te cor -

[C] 150 155

[B] su

[C] 160

[B] su

[C] 165

[B] E su fu en

[C] *no* *ns*

[B]

[C] *no*

[B] *tes im ple*

[C] *ns* *Im ple*

[B]

[C] *no* *vit eo*

[B] *nit eo*

[C] *ns*

[B]

[C] *no* *ns* *ni*

[B] *ni*

Fol. bb8v

[Medius] 

[Contratenor] 

[Tenor] 

[Bassus] 

[M] 

[T] 

[M] 

[T] 

[M] 

[T] 

[M] 

[T] 

[M] *245*
[T] *245*

[M] *250*
[T] *250*

[M] *255*
[T] *255*

[M] *260*
[T] *260*

[M] *265*
[T] *265*

[M] *270*
[T] *270*

Handwritten musical score for 'The Rose Tree'. The score is written on two staves, labeled [M] (Melody) and [F] (Fiddle). The melody is in treble clef, and the fiddle part is in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 2/4. The melody features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with a prominent 'a b' marking above the first measure. The fiddle part consists of a simple bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a 'C' marking below the first measure. The score is written in ink on aged paper.

[illegible]

[M] 
[T] 

[illegible]

[M] *205*
sem *per* *et*
 [T] *et*

[M] *310*
se
 [T] *in se cu*

[M] *315*
cu *lo* *rum* *A*
 [T] *la se cu lo rum*

[M] *320*
 [T] *A*

[M] *325*
men
 [T] *men*

Magnificat

Fol. cel^r RICHARD DAVY

[Medius] 

[Tenor] 
Et di - vi - tes di -

[Contratenor] 
[resul]rum

[Bassus] 
Et di - vi - tes di - mi -

[T] 
mi -

[B] 
in di -

[T] 
in di -

[B] 
in di -

[T] 
in di -

[B] 
in di -

[T] 
in di -

[B] 
in di -

30

[T] *nes*

[B] *nes* *si* *ad*

35

[T] *cu* *bus* *est*

[B] *cu* *bus*

40

[T] *ad* *pa* *hes*

[B] *est ad* *pa-hes* *no* *chos*

45

[T] *A* *ba* *ham*

[B] *A - ba - ham*

50

[T] *et* *se* *mi* *ni* *e*

[B] *et se - mi - ni* *e* *ni* *in* *se*

55

[T] *in* *se* *cu*

[B] *cu* *in* *se* *cu*

[T] *65*

[B] *65*

Ca.

Ca.

[T] *70*

[B] *70*

[Tenor] *75*

[Contratenor]

[Bassus] *75*

fi in se - cu - la ge - nu - lo

[T]

[C]

[B]

[T] *80*

[C] *80*

[B] *80*

fz

A

fz

A

fz

A

90

[T]

[C]

[B]

95

[T]

[C]

[B]

100

[T]

[C]

[B]

men.

men.

men.

COMMENTARY

O regina caelestis gloriae

- Attribution: Walter Lambe.
 Source: E index: fols c3^v-c5^r; fol. c3^v survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 161 (no. 56).
 Voices/clefs: 6v; three extant: G₂ [Triplex], C₄ [Tenor], C₄ [Contratenor].
 Mensuration: ϕ [Triplex]; O [Tenor]; ϕ [Contratenor].
 Notation: black full with red coloration indicating imperfection.
 Accidentals: #s and b's written in red ink. Sharps indicated by # and 'ff' signs.
 Text: RH 30960. E only source cited.
 Initials: Cadel 'O' in all three parts formed by so-called 'cabbage-head' motif (acanthus).
 Cantus firmi: *Hodie in Iordane* (AS 87), seventh responsory at Matins on Epiphany and *Magi videntes stellam* (GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 53^r), antiphon to *Magnificat* at Vespers on Epiphany.
 Incipits: 'hodie in iordane' below tenor part in bar 47 and 'magi videntes stellam' above contratenor part in bar 48.
 [Triplex] 12 b for F^a before C; 14 NL, # for F before ²C; 21 NL before ²B; 24 # for F before A 23; 55 NL before ²A; 77 NL before E; 103 *br* A should be *sb* A.
 [Tenor] 31 b for B before F; 51 NL; 36 NL before *sb* rest; 100 NL.
 [Contratenor] 5 b for B before C; 14 NL before E; 23 NL before *m* rest; 72 NL before *br* rest; 101 red subscript 2 beneath 2nd note of *sb* lig.; 110 NL.

O virgo prudentissima

- Attribution: Robert Wylkynson.
 Source: E index: fols d8^v-e3^r; fol. d8^v survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 161 (no. 57).
 Voices/clefs: 6v; three extant: G₁^b [Triplex], C₃^b [Tenor], C₃^b [Contratenor].
 Mensuration: O [Triplex]; ϕ [Tenor]; ϕ [Contratenor].
 Notation: black full, with black void notes indicating imperfection.
 Text: RH 13910. Hymn by Poliziano, published in his *Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1498) by Aldus Manutius. Final word of stanza 4 'lumina' in E instead of 'limina'.

- Underlay: Guide letter 'o' written in brown ink at beginning of the text in each part. Underlay in E does not correspond with the number of notes in [T] in bars 95-102.
- Initials: [Triplex]: cadel 'O' formed by so-called 'cabbage-head motif (acanthus), centre erased.
[Tenor]: Grey-coloured shell with gold-coloured rays emanating from left and right-hand sides of it. Two brown-coloured griffins, frame either side of the shell.
[Contratenor]: Two blue/grey-coloured griffins interlaced heads and tails forming 'O'.
- Cantus firmus: *Angelus autem Domini* (GB-Ob Laud. Misc. 299, fol. 392^r), antiphon sung at Lauds during the Paschal season.
- [Triplex]: 12-30 16¹/₂ *br* rest in E possibly should be 18¹/₂; 37 NL before B; 39 # for B^a before A, 38; 51-70 42 *br* rest in E may be 19; 72 NL before ²D; 89 NL before G.
- [Tenor]: 21 NL before ¹F; 29 *sb* C should not be dotted; 31-49 23 *br* rest in E may be 19; 54 # for B^a before ²E; 55 NL before G; 63 # for B^a before ¹C; 73 NL before C.
- [Contratenor]: 17 NL before A; 31-49 23 *br* rest in E may be 19; 51 NL before A; 64 triplets indicated by black void notation, with '3.2' written underneath; 66 NL before ¹A; 75 ¹ for B before A 74 not required; 77 NL before ¹A; 88 # for B^a before ¹C; 92 NL before ¹D.

Gaude flore virginali

- Attribution: William Cornysh.
- Source: E index: fols f1^v-f3^r; fol. f3^r survives.
- Edition: MB 12, 161 (no. 58).
- Voices/clefs: 6v, three extant: C₂ [Medius], C₅ Inferior Contratenor, F₄ Bassus.
- Mensuration: ♪ [Medius]; ♪ Inferior Contratenor; C Bassus.
- Notation: black full.
- Accidentals: #s added in black ink in a later hand in final staff of [Medius].
- Text: AH 31, 198.
- Underlay: Guide letter 'g' for 'gaude' written in [Medius].
- Cantus firmus: not apparent in surviving parts.
- [Medius]: 21-6 notes erased, addition of smaller black void notes over this in same hand; 36 NL before B; 42 should be *m* rest not *br* rest as in E; 49-72 should be 24 *br* rest not 36 as in E; 85 NL before G; 122 NL before G; 146-56 should be 11 *br* rest not 26 as in E; 164 NL before ²C; 197 NL; 206 # for F before ¹G, 205; 215 no fermata sign.

Inferior 70 NL before C; 107 NL before F; 155 NL; 184 1st note of lig. E
 Contratenor: should be dotted *sb* instead of undotted *sb* in E.
 Bassus: 63 ²C may be incorrect because of B^a in IC above, correct note may be D; 79 NL; 127 NL; 146-69 should be 23 *br* rest not 24 as in E; 188 NL; 215 no fermata sign

Salve regina

Attribution: William Brygeman; top of fol. 6^v 'Willimus'.
 Source: E index: fols 6^v-g1^r; fols f6^v and g1^r survive.
 Edition: MB 12, 161 (no. 59).
 Voices/clefs: 5v; C₁ [Triplex], C₂ Medius, C₄ [Tenor], C₄ [Contratenor], F₄^a Bassus.
 Mensuration: ϕ [Triplex], [Tenor], [Contratenor]; C Medius bar 123, beginning 3rd trope verse, 'Funde preces'.
 Notation: black full, with red coloration.
 Accidentals: \flat and \sharp written in red and black inks.
 Text: AH 50, 318 (main *Salve regina* text); 23, 57 (trope verses). Music survives from 'Gaude mater miserorum'.
 Initials: [Triplex]: 'S' formed by brown/gold-coloured branch.
 [Tenor]: 'S' formed by grey/blue-coloured lacertine.
 [Contratenor]: 'S' formed by lacertine.
 Cantus firmus: *Omnes electi* (Sarum Antiphonal 1519-20, fol. xxiii^f), Office antiphon on All Saints.
 [Triplex] 16 \sharp for B^a before G 15; 20 NL before ¹A; 41 NL before F; 54 \sharp for C before ²F, 53; 55 NL before *m* rest; 57 \sharp for B^a before E, 55; 61 \sharp for F before A; \flat for B before E, 94; 100 NL; 107 \flat for B before E.
 Medius 131 \flat for B before ²F, 130; 133 \flat for B before ¹D, 132; 136 \sharp for F before C, 133; 149 NL with B^b signature before F; 206 NL before F; 212 \sharp for C before F, 210; 237 NL; 242 C may be in error as a B would avoid the dissonance with [C] and B; 248 no fermata sign.
 [Tenor] 36-62 should be 27 *br* rests and not 26 as in E; 65 \flat for B before ¹F, 64; 65 NL before ²B; 75 \flat for B before D; 80 \flat for B before ²A, 78; 90 NL.
 [Contratenor] 9 black void *br*; 13 \flat for B before G, 12; 19 NL before ²E; 22 \flat for B before ²F, 21; 34 NL before F; 51 NL before ²C; 95 \flat for B before C, 94; 98 NL before ³D; 103 \flat for B before F, 101; 121-2 music after F now missing; 197 \flat for B before G; 213 NL before C; 214 \flat for B before C, 213; 244 NL; 249 no fermata sign.
 Bassus 146 NL before C; 170 NL; 180 \flat for E before B, 179; 191 \flat for E before C, 190; 196 NL before D; 215 \flat for E before D; 228 NL.

Salve decus castitatis

- Attribution: Robert Wylkynson.
 Source: E index: fols r3^v-r4^r; fol. r3^v survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 161 (no. 60).
 Voices/clefs: 5v; three extant: G₂ [Triplex], C₄ [Tenor], C₄^b [Contratenor].
 Mensuration: O [Triplex], [Tenor], [Contratenor]; ϕ [Triplex], [Tenor] bar 62, beginning with 'Flos spineti'.
 Notation: black full, with red coloration and black void notes indicating imperfection.
 Accidentals: #s and b's in black ink.
 Text: RH 33081. E only source cited.
 Initials: Initial letter in all three extant parts formed by branch decorated by acanthus pattern.
 Cantus firmus: not apparent in surviving parts.
 [Triplex] 15 NL before A; 20 underlay in black text; 31 NL; 39 # for B^a before D; 53 NL before F; 104 NL before G; 130 NL; 153 no fermata sign.
 [Tenor] NL before ²C; 36 ^b for B before rest 35; 45 NL; 75 ^b for B before F; 87 NL; 90 ^b for B before G; 119 NL; 136 ^b for B before *sb* rest 135; 153 no fermata sign.
 [Contratenor] 28 NL; 42 NL; 54-153 missing.

Ascendit Christus

- Attribution: Nicholas Huchyn.
 Source: E index: fols r4^v-r6^r; fol. r6^r survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 162 (no. 61).
 Voices/clefs: 5v; three extant: C₁ Medius, C₃ [Contratenor], C₄ [Bassus].
 Mensuration: C Medius, [Bassus]. No mensuration sign present in surviving music for Contratenor.
 Notation: black full.
 Text: RH 23138.
 Cantus firmus: not apparent in surviving parts.
 Medius: possibly too many *br* rest indicated in E at beginning; 51 NL before F; 97 NL before D; 125 NL before ²G; 147 NL before G; 158 no fermata sign.
 Contratenor: 140 NL before E; 158 no fermata sign.
 Bassus: 28 NL before A; 75 NL; 95 NL; 121 NL before ²G; 144 NL before F; no fermata sign.

Magnificat

- Attribution: John Browne; top of fol. z8^v 'Johannes'.
 Source: E index: fols z8^v-aa2^r; fol. z8^v survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 162 (no. 62).
 Voices/clefs: 5v; three extant: G₁ [Triplex], C₃ [Tenor], C₃ [Contratenor].
 Mensuration: ϕ [Triplex], [Tenor], [Contratenor]; \emptyset [Triplex], [Tenor] bar 67, beginning with verse 6, 'Fecit potentiam'.
 Notation: black full, with red full coloration.
 Accidentals: #s and bs written in red ink.
 Text: [Triplex] and [Tenor]: verses 2, 4, 6; [Contratenor]: verse 2.
 Incipits: [Contratenor] 'Quia fecit' and 'et sanctum' under *br* rests bars 33-66.
 Initials: [Triplex]: cadel 'E' formed by lacertine or possibly a stag with antlers.
 [Tenor]: cadel 'E' formed by grey-coloured wolf-like animal.
 [Contratenor]: cadel 'E' formed by acanthus pattern.
 Cantus firmus: Counterpoint to canticle tone 1 (with counterpoint to *differentia* 1.8); preserved in *GB-Lbl* Lans. 462, fol. 152^r, *GB-Lbl* Roy. App. 56, fol. 22^v, *GB-Lbl* c. 52. b. 21, fol. 191^r and *GB-Mcks* NR/JB6, fol. [iii^v].
 [Triplex] 15 NL; 36 NL before A; 40 \downarrow for B before F; 43 \downarrow for B before F; 42; 44 *sb* rest underneath G not required; 48 NL before ¹E; 62 NL before D; 63 \downarrow for B before D; 62; 87 NL.
 [Tenor] 20 # for B^a before F; 19; 26 NL before B; 55 NL before ¹F; 77 \downarrow for B before C, 75.
 [Contratenor] 12 \downarrow for before C, 9; 18 NL before B; 24 triplets written in red full notation, with subscript '3.2'; 33-66 should be 34 *br* rests not 22 *br* rests as in E.

Magnificat

- Attribution: Robert Wylkynson; top of fol. bb1^r 'Wylkynson 22 note'.
 Source: E index: fols aa8^v-bb2^r; fol. bb1^r - bb1^v survives.
 Edition: MB 12, 162 (no. 63).
 Voices/clefs: 6v; G₁ [Triplex], C₁ [Medius], C₃ 1^o (Primus) Tenor; C₃ Contratenor; C₄ Secundus Tenor, C₅ [Bassus].
 Mensuration: ϕ [Medius], Secundus Tenor, [Bassus]; C [Medius], Secundus Tenor, [Bassus], bar 73, beginning with verse 6, 'Fecit potentiam'; ϕ [Triplex], O Primus Tenor, ϕ Contratenor, bar 192, beginning with verse 10, 'Sicut locutus'.
 Notation: black full, with red full coloration.
 Accidentals: #s later additions written in black ink and in a different hand. B#s written as signature in all four staves in [Bassus].

- Text: [Triplex]: 2nd half of verse 8 (tacet), verse 10 and 12; [Medius]: verses 2, 4, 6, 1st half of verse 8; Primus Tenor: 2nd half of verse 8 (from 'Et divites'), 10 and 12; Contratenor: 2nd half of verse 8, 10, 12 Secundus Tenor: verses 2, 4, 6, 1st half of verse 8; [Bassus]: verses 2, 4, 6, 1st half of verse 8 (tacet).
- Initials: [Medius]: Middle horizontal bar of initial 'E' formed by two goblins lying horizontally with heads touching at vertical axis of 'E'.
Secundus tenor: initial 'E' formed by a brown-coloured griffin.
[Bassus]: initial 'E' formed by grey/blue-coloured branch.
- Cantus firmus: Counterpoint to canticle tone 4 (with counterpoint to *differentia* 4.2) verses 2, 4, 6; counterpoint to canticle tone 5 (with counterpoint to *differentia* 5.1) verses 10 and 12.
- [Triplex] 158-91 should be 34 *br* rest not 18 as in E; 210 NL; 233 NL before E; 253 NL before C; 270 no fermata sign.
- [Medius] 19 NL before ²G; 23 'saluta[ri]' in red ink instead of black; 27 error *sm* D looks partly like *m* ; 39 NL before G; 49-72 should be 24 *br* rest not 14 as in E; 84 NL before A; 114 NL before ²A; 146 NL before D.
- Primus Tenor 186 NL before G; 260 NL before D; 270 no fermata sign.
- Contratenor 15 NL; 186 NL; 200 NL before D; 214 NL before G; 236 NL before B; 264 NL before D; 270 no fermata sign.
- Secundus Tenor 32-48 should be 17 *br* rest not 18 as in E; 53 NL before D; 80 NL; 121 no fermata sign; 141 NL.
- [Bassus] 3-4 notes written over erasure; 27 NL before F; 46 *br* ²E originally written in red ink, erased and now in black ink; 72 should be 24 *br* rest not 16 as in E; 121 no fermata sign; 123-57 should be 35 *br* rest not 18 as in E.

Magnificat

- Attribution: Sygar; top of fol. bb8^r 'Sygar 21'.
- Source: E index: fols bb7^v-cc1^r; fol. bb8^r - bb8^v survives.
- Edition: MB 12, 162 (no. 64).
- Voices/clefs: 4v; C₁ [Medius], C₃ [Contratenor], C₄ [Tenor], F₄^b [Bassus].
- Mensuration: φ [Contratenor]; O [Bassus]; φ [Contratenor] and [Bassus], bar 71, beginning with 'Fecit potentiam'; C [Medius] and [Tenor], bar 207, beginning with 'Et divites'; O [Medius], φ [Tenor], bar 244, beginning with 'Sicut locutus'.
- Notation: black full with red full coloration.
- Initials: [Contratenor]: outer horizontal bars of initial 'E' formed by two-headed lacertine.
[Bassus]: large brown animal head with jaws forming outer horizontal bars of initial 'E' and tongue forming middle bar.

- Text: [Medius]: verses 10 and 12; [Contratenor]: verses 2, 4, 6 and 1st half of verse 8 (to 'bonis'); [Tenor]: 2nd half of verse 8 ('Et divites'), verses 10 and 12; [Bassus]: verses 2, 4, 6 and 1st half of verse 8 (to 'bonis').
- Cantus firmus: not apparent in surviving parts.
- [Medius]: 207-43 should be 37 *br* rest not 16 as in E; 257 NL; 270 NL before ²E; 281-94 should be 14 *br* rest not 12 as in E; 298 NL before ¹G; 309 NL before D; 325 NL before B; 328 no fermata sign.
- Contratenor: 1-2 'Et exulta[vit]' written in red ink probably in error; 16 NL before A; 37 NL; 37-52 should be 16 *br* rests not 12 as in E; 71 NL; 134-45 '[disper]sit mente cordis' in red ink; 189 NL before G.
- [Tenor]: 225 ¹ for B before *br* rest; 226 NL; 232 ¹ for B before F 231; 247 NL; 267 NL before B; 283 NL; 292 NL before D; 318 black void notation for [seculo]rum *br*; 319 NL; 328 no fermata sign.
- Bassus: 4 ¹ for B before *br* rests; 26 NL; 53 NL before D; 66 NL before B; 94 NL; 127 NL; 135 NL before ²F; 172 NL before C; 192 NL before G.

Magnificat

- Attribution: Richard Davy.
- Source: E index: fols dd7V-ee1^r; fol. ee1^r survives.
- Edition: MB 12, 162 (no. 65).
- Voices/clefs: 4v; extant: C₃ [Tenor], C₄ [Contratenor], C₅ [Bassus].
- Mensuration: $\frac{C}{2}$ [Tenor], beginning with verse 8, 'Et divites'; C [Bassus], beginning with verse 8, 'Et divites'; O [Tenor] and [Bassus], bar 32, beginning with verse 10, 'Sicut locutus'.
- Notation: black full with red coloration.
- Text: [Tenor]: 2nd half of verse 8 ('Et divites'), verses 10 and 12; [Contratenor]: end of verse 12 ('[seculo]rum Amen'); [Bassus]: 2nd half of verse 8 ('Et divites'), verses 10 and 12.
- Cantus firmus: Not a counterpoint to the canticle tones; probably an independent cantus firmus (unidentified).
- [Tenor] 32 incipit 'Sicut erat' written on staff below rests; 48 NL; 64-75 should be 24 *br* rest not 12 as in E; 95 error, red *br* above *sb* F not required; 98 NL before A; 102 no fermata sign.
- [Contratenor] 99 NL before *m* rest; 100 # for B^a before *m* rest 99; 102 no fermata sign.
- [Bassus] 7-8 triplets in red with '3.2' written underneath C-D; 16 NL before F with ¹ signature; 17 ¹ for E before B; 21 # for E^a before ³C, 20; 25 triplets red with '3.2' written underneath; 33 NL; 36 # for C before B, 35; 49 NL; 77 NL before ¹F; 83 ¹ for ²B before ¹B not required; 89 NL before *m* rest; 97 lig. sketched in red ink underneath staff; 102 no fermata sign.

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